Israel and the Arabs

Dave Beck Comes Out of the West

The Reporter

December 8, 1953 25c

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A1-RAOUL DUFY—Paddock at Deauville
12" high x 26" wide

A2-PICASSO—Portrait of the Poet's Wife
24" high x 20" wide

Giant-size for framing ...all 14 prints in full-color

A3-UTRILLO—Anse, Rhone Valley
20" high x 24" wide

A4-VLAMINCK—Landscape
20" high x 24" wide

A5-CEZANNE—Basket of Fruit
18" high x 22" wide

A6-VAN GOGH—Vase With Flowers
22" high x 18" wide

A7-LAUTREC—Girl Pulling on Stocking
24" high x 20" wide

A8-RENOIR—Girls at Piano
24" high x 20" wide

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A9-MODIGLIANI – Seated Nude
24" high x 18" wide
A10-ROUAULT – Head of Young Boy
24" high x 20" wide
A11-UTRILLO – Street in Paris
24" high x 22" wide
A12-MONET – Boats on the Beach
20" high x 24" wide
A13-MATISSE – Odalisque
20" high x 24" wide
A14-DUFY – Sea at Le Havre
18" high x 22" wide

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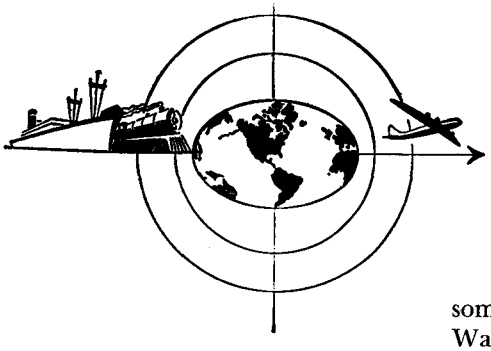

THE REPORTER'S NOTES

The Raw Fact

Maybe it was just the bad luck of Friday the thirteenth, but it is a pity that a story which appeared that day in the New York *Post* was mishandled by most of the press. Or perhaps it was because newspaper space for laughter, or irony, or a sense of history, or urbanity is fast disappearing these days. James Wechsler's "Damning Disclosure" had all these qualities. It was based on a 1947 piece in *United Nations World,* a firsthand account of remarks made by General Eisenhower in England in 1944 to the then Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and Harry Dexter White on what was to become known as the Morgenthau Plan for pastoralizing defeated Germany. The author of the *U.N. World* article, a former Treasury official named Fred Smith, wrote: "Actually it was General Dwight D. Eisenhower who launched the project . . . set the spark . . ."

Two days before the *Post* editorial, Harry Dexter White had been referred to in answer to questions in a White House press conference as "a man named White . . . whom the President had never met, didn't know anything about."

But in printing evidence that the President's memory was not infallible the *Post* departed from the routine pattern of partisanship. It did not crow about its discovery of contradiction. With eloquence and wit it asked Americans to be more charitable about the "vagaries of memory" which great and patriotic Americans share with the rest of us. It spoofed its own "disclosure" and hoped, by presenting the story with its built-in interpretation, to "restore some sanity and perspective in Washington."

We have the greatest sympathy for Mr. Wechsler of the *Post,* but as a professional journalist he should have known that his essay on tolerance hadn't a chance of surviving unmaimed in the newspaper world of today. Who would care for his thoughtful and serious comment on a text when that text, taken out of context, could be presented as a charge against the President of the United States?

The papers didn't. Two great and responsible New York newspapers seized upon a fact which a capable and brilliant editor had evaluated and set in proper perspective—and decided they preferred it raw.

Says You

When one child sets out to torment another, he will often repeat whatever the other child says, aping inflection as well as words.

Have the psychological-warfare experts of the Kremlin discovered this primitive but vexing gambit?

Those long, formal speeches and rambling diplomatic notes sound very much as if me-tooism has become the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Having appropriated our words "peace" and "democracy" and the like, they have now taken to repeating our policies.

We have complained that the Soviets are trying to undermine the democratic countries by subversion, building up armaments, and increasing the military strength of their satellites.

Listen to President Kliment E. Voroshilov:

"The United States government is demonstratively appropriating hundreds of millions for undermining activities in the countries of the democratic camp, it continues the policy of the armament race, builds up military groups and creates intensively a close network of military bases in the immediate proximity of the frontiers

ABSENT WITNESS

Servants of foolish hope or dark design,
Driven by guilt, or, worse, by innocence
To sudden death—you are now free to decline
To testify again in your defense.
Earth is a safer sanctuary now
Than the Fifth Amendment, and your muted tongue
No proof of blame. But if the dead somehow
Can listen to all the bitter charges flung
By the living, then your graves must shake
With weeping or laughing, since you alone hold tight
The truth; since you alone can make
The last distinction between wrong and right.

But you are still—and what we ought to know
No file or fantasy can fully show.

—SEC

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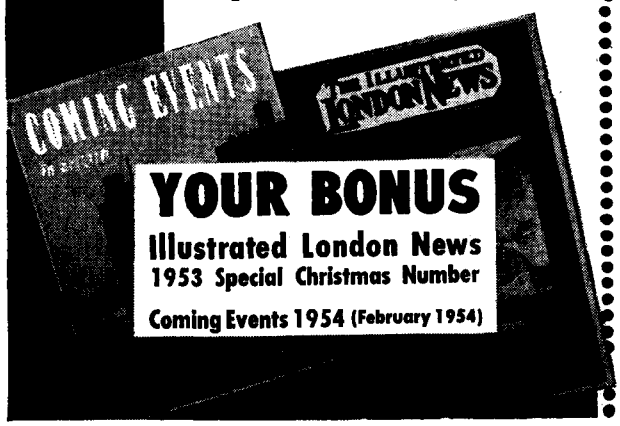

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of the countries of the democratic camp."

We want to consider the causes of international tension at a four-power meeting. The Russians want to consider the causes of international tension at a five-power meeting.

We want German elections and a unified Germany. Voroshilov wants "the formation of an interim all-German government, the holding of all-German elections." A little difference as to which comes first, but the two objectives are always mentioned in the same sentence. We want a rollback of Soviet power in Europe. They want a rollback of American power in Europe. We are for a policy of liberation. They say they want to "liberate" the European nations from what they call American "occupation." Whatever there is of originality in their position is in their lying.

When children play the "repeating game" it means they have run out of useful talk and constructive play. The same condition can be reproduced in chess, a game the Russians understand. When neither player can checkmate the other but can only move back and forth, it is called a stalemate.

TRIESTE AFTERMATH

CLAIRE STERLING

ROME

ITALY'S maturity in the face of intense provocation since October 8 deserves much more recognition than it has received. Western incitement to nationalist excesses could not have been greater here if it had been calculated. First Italy was misled, especially by the United States, about its rights to Zone B. Then Italy's chances of getting even Zone A seemed remote: In Italian eyes Britain and America submitted to Yugoslavia and broke their promise to Italy. As a further provocation to Italian tempers, General Sir John Winterton used bullets to quell student rioting that could certainly have been put down with tear gas and fire hoses. No one knows why he suddenly loosed armed mobile units when British-trained police traditionally go unarmed.

Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's blanket justification of the British commander—seconded by Secretary of State Dulles—and his attempt to blame the episode on Italy did not serve to smooth things over. Of course there are Fascists in Italy and they helped make trouble, but the British press had no justification for implying that "Italian" and "Fascist" are synonyms.

WITH SUCH PRESSURE from the outside combined with pressure from both Right and Left on the Government inside Italy, the wonder is that Prime Minister Giuseppe Pella managed to avoid a more extreme nationalist position. I doubt if anyone outside Italy realizes the effort that has been made by the Pella Government, under President Luigi Einaudi's guidance, to restrain the press, the rightist leaders, and the Foreign Office nationalists. A few nights ago the Foreign Office gave a private screening for foreign correspondents of edited and unedited versions of Trieste riot newsreels, showing how inflammatory sequences of policemen clubbing students, hoses being played into churches, etc., had been deleted from the public version.

Following the first explosion of indignation, all the papers except those on the extreme Left and Right have adopted a more moderate tone, cautioning that Italy must not break up the Atlantic alliance or become Britain's eternal enemy and must welcome any reasonable compromise on Trieste. It is now generally accepted throughout Italy that such a compromise would necessarily involve some kind of partition with eventual territorial adjustments. This is a position that former Prime Minister De Gasperi never dared take, but Pella—except for occasional bursts of rhetoric—has been holding it very well.

The news from Belgrade indicates that moderation is also prevailing there. But in Yugoslavia a single man can change the policy if it doesn't seem to be working, while here in Italy dozens of leaders and hundreds of politicians are involved—and ultimately the policy Pella adopts has to be acceptable to the entire nation.

Of course, Italy cannot afford to be immoderate. Italy has no place to go if it abandons the West; even the Fascists and Monarchists are unwilling to enter an alliance of spite with Russia.

But Italian moderation is also based on a profound change in Italian thinking. There is a new revulsion, on the part of many Italians, against the possibility of falling back into the ranting, nationalistic superpatriotism that was Mussolini's stock in trade. For some reason, this doesn't seem to be "news" in the West. Has any American paper indicated how small a proportion of Italians were in the streets demonstrating against the Allies?

The United States seems to be coming out of the Trieste affair better than could be expected. The British, on the contrary, are so unpopular in Italy right now that even Secretary Dulles, who was described by *L'Europeo* a few weeks ago as the "biggest *gaffeur* in the business," is being let off lightly, while Ambassador Luce, perhaps largely because of her personal gallantry, has become very popular. Although she is blamed in British, Italian—and American—circles for precipitating the whole crisis, most Italians feel that her good will compensates for her inexperience.

BUT EVEN IF Italian moderation brings about a settlement, no conclusion of the episode can be entirely satisfactory for any of the parties concerned. A settlement would probably help toward Italian ratification of the European Defense Community treaties, but a successful Atlantic policy depends upon much more than the formal ratification of treaties.

Some of the most persistently pro-western Italian leaders confess that they have been shocked. One of the most prominent told me recently that he can never again support Atlanticism with the personal enthusiasm he once felt. This disenchantment with the Atlantic and European ideas can be at least as harmful as a vote in Parliament against the EDC.

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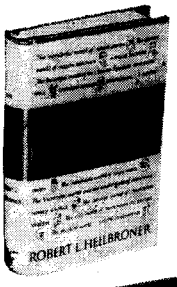

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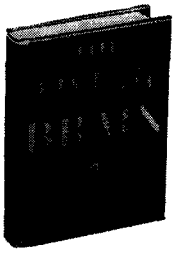

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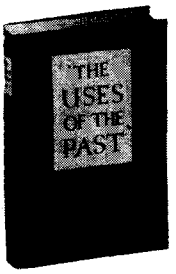

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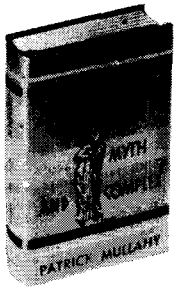

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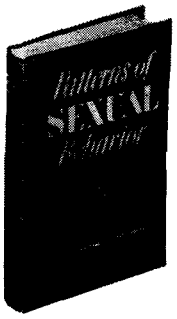

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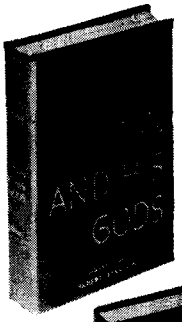

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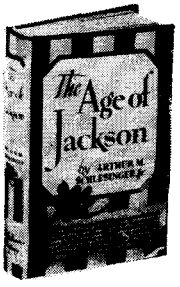

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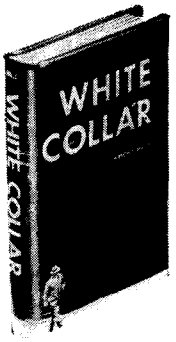

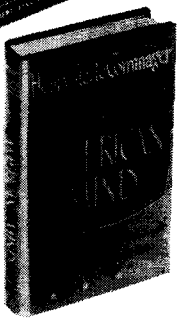

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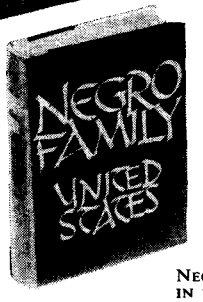

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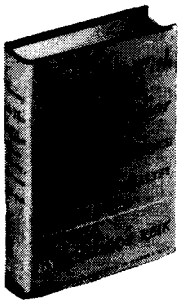

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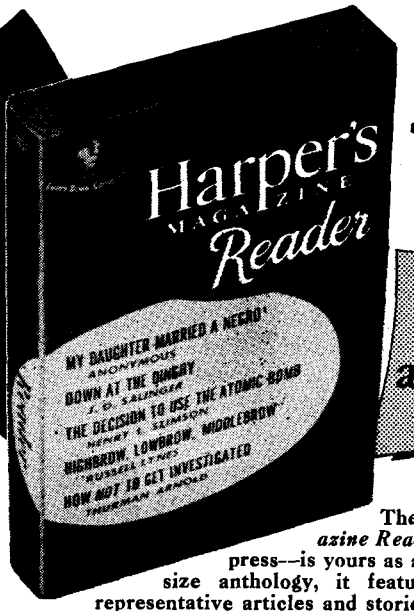

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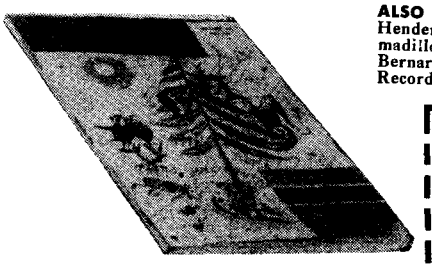
WHY PEOPLE CHANGE. A practicing psychiatrist describes the ways in which the human personality can change, the underlying factors that are involved, and the reason why some of the most successful changes are sometimes achieved without any outside help like psychotherapy. *Ian Stevenson, M.D.*

INSOMNIA, STAMPS, AND MR. MINKUS. A funny and informative account of stamp collecting as a hobby, as a cure for insomnia and a way of life, by the author of *See Here, Private Hargrove.* *Marion Hargrove*

A RELIGION FOR NOW. The new President of Harvard University suggests that we are all, to some extent, religious illiterates for we have not been well taught about religion. As a result, there is a great urgency for schools of religion to do something fresh and convincing to meet present needs. *Nathan M. Pusey*

THE GERMANS: THEIR CAUSE AND CURE. A startling, disconcerting and consistently fascinating picture of the German state of mind today—based on the author's recent experience as visiting faculty member of the Institute of Social Research of Frankfurt University. *Milton Mayer*

BILLION-DOLLAR CURE FOR TEXAS' DROUGHT. One of America's leading historians describes what the current drought, which has lasted five years already, is doing to the whole Southwest and why water is today the biggest factor holding back the further development of that important region. *Walter Prescott Webb*



ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: "Mass-Produced Suburbs," Part II, by Harry Henderson, "A Christmas Carillon" by Hortense Calisher, "The Armadillo Basket" by William Goyen, and the regular departments of Bernard DeVoto, Gilbert Highet, and "Mr. Harper"—plus the New Recordings by Edward Tatnall Canby.

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CORRESPONDENCE

HOW HI THE FI?

To the Editor: James Hinton, Jr.'s, "How Hi the Fi?" in your November 10 issue so succinctly expressed the sentiments that have troubled my heart that I was cheering almost every paragraph.

HAROLD ROGERS
Music Critic
The *Christian Science Monitor*
Boston

To the Editor: James Hinton, Jr.'s, advice on high-fidelity music reproduction may be helpful to those hoping to acquire wide-range equipment. But in his neglect of specific examples of his experience of equipment performance and in his comments upon music itself, the theme of the article was poorly served by its variations.

Mr. Hinton counsels us not to buy a speaker system "that would blow the armor off a battleship." But I should like to suggest that when the storm breaks in the "Pastoral" Symphony there should be the impression of a cataclysm in which no battleship would be safe, in which the thunder rolls with almost sickening intensity and terrifying power—as Beethoven intended. Further, equipment able to reproduce such music with little distortion is usually, by reason of being rugged and heavy, better able to reproduce the "Scene by the Brook," and moreover will last longer and require less servicing.

MILES M. PAYNE
San Diego, California

To the Editor: Mr. Hinton's dim views on the glory of listening to hi-fi fell disappointingly short of providing an enlightened picture of the new sound. As a magazine with a crusader's flair for letting the people know when and where they are getting fleeced, you are missing some good bets. Hi-fi has been awaiting mass acceptance since long-forgotten prewar days when Major Edwin Armstrong first demonstrated the overwhelming hi-fiability of FM broadcasting.

The fi of FM was then, and still is, markedly hi-er than the best new records. The variety of music presented through this medium is a far cry from the stagnant repetition of a recorded performance. I, for one, would much prefer to listen to a live concert accurately reproduced in the shoeless comfort of my living room than face the jostling crowd, stiff seat, and tuxedo-and-furs atmosphere of the concert hall. Reproduced music is so important a part of the lives of my budding concert-pianist wife and myself that we have four of the five rooms of our modest bungalow wired with built-in loudspeakers.

Hi-fi is now coming of age, not so much because technically better discs are available as because the big-name manufacturers are looking for something to sell, now that they have saturated the television market. FM has been available for years. FM broadcasts completely duplicate the transmissions of all worthwhile standard AM stations in New York City and many other metropolitan areas. Despite this, combination sets (with added cost for the inclusion of AM) are unblushingly foisted on the unfortunate customer. It is only now, when new markets are needed, that FM receiver selling has become an important part of the radio business. Now every major manufacturer offers a set with the hi-fi label tacked on.

None of these sets compete, either in hi-ness of fi or lowness of price, with custom-made components made in uneconomically short production runs by manufacturers whose small size is compensated by a large conscience. This is not to say that all small manufacturers make good hi-fi components; the market is so glutted with inferior equipment that the layman is faced with an impossible task when he tries to select the best of hi-fi from the mass of confusion. Your magazine could provide an important service by publicizing the motives and achievements of the hi-fi marketeers. This purpose has not been served by Mr. Hinton's overly strong expressions of personal bias against the accuracy of record reproduction. Mr. Hinton has an invitation to listen to the very near realism of music reproduced in any of the four high-fidelity-equipped rooms of my home.

HERBERT M. HONIG
Englewood, New Jersey

OUR FULSOME APOLOGIES

To the Editor: The November 10 issue of *The Reporter*, page 1, The Reporter's Notes, third paragraph: "Our diplomacy and its chief architect, Mr. Dulles, have lately received fulsome tributes in the press. This magazine would like nothing better than to join in the acclaim if only we could find one valid reason for doing so."

I urge, quite humbly as becomes a middlebrow of doubtful intellect and meager erudition, that you consult the dictionary in regard to the adjective "fulsome."

BERTRAM D. SCOTT
North Bridgton, Maine

To the Editor: I have been appointed by family and friends to call your attention to the very incorrect use of the word "fulsome". . . .

ELSIE B. OSBORN
Malibu, California

(While the tributes to Mr. Dulles were not "offensive from insincerity or baseness of motive" [Webster's New International], we beg leave to cite the Shorter Oxford's definition: "Offensive to good taste; esp. from excess or want of measure. Now chiefly of flattery, over-demonstrative affection, etc.")

TAKE A SECOND LOOK

To the Editor: "Adman's Nightmare: Is the Prune a Witch?" by Robert Graham in your October 13 issue was amusing for your readers and a fair introduction to a new trend in marketing research. His allusion to ads as "tacks" is an interesting, if prejudiced, literary device. If it were meant in any way as a criticism of advertising, as your editors apparently took it, the criticism is not deep enough from my point of view. Quite obviously, mass markets require sound advertising; many ad campaigns are basically unsound and need more than pinprick criticism both inside and outside the advertising profession.

One thing missing in the piece, strictly from a personal angle, is the fact that I conduct many standard studies. Projective methods are by no means a panacea for the ills in business research. Actually, my kind of work represents a wedding between practical application in the market place and a variety of knowledge techniques in the academic arena. A forthcoming *Public Opinion Quarterly* reporting the last American Association for Public Opinion Research Conference underlines this point in the study of the authoritarian personality.

The Reporter provides an excellent medium for criticisms of worn-out practices, and in balancing out such material a good context for suggesting new trends and ideas to its readers.

JAMES M. VICARY
New York

MONEY TALKS

To the Editor: Your entire "Correspondence" page in the November 24 issue was devoted to letters concerning the article "Can Government Be Merchandised?" by William Lee Miller (*The Reporter*, October 27). If we can consider these letters representative of your readers' thinking, I would say that the vast majority of your audience missed what was to me the main point of Mr. Miller's article.

Nobody is denying that "public information" techniques of one sort or another go back to the first time one man ever tried persuading another by means other than a club. And nobody denies that the great mass media are open to all.

But the point is: Using these media costs money. Which means simply that the cause, the campaign, and the campaigner with the most money generally have the best chance for success.

I'm inclined to disagree, too, with your reader who states that "dissatisfied customers will not buy again." First, there are always amazing new advertising techniques to squelch even such things as customer dissatisfaction. Second, there are always new prospects coming into any market. New voters, too.

But even if I should agree with this "dissatisfied customer" theory, I would also be inclined to agree with Mr. Miller's implied statement that buying the right or wrong vacuum cleaner is perhaps less vital to a man and his community than electing the right or wrong statesman.

FRED SLATER
Brighton, Massachusetts

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

MAX ASCOLI's editorial, "Government by Bombshell," considers the Brownell-Truman incident as a confirmation of the peculiar way the Administration has of handling major international and domestic problems.

Our three leading articles deal with the Middle East and the attitude that its peoples are taking toward the United States. One article is on Israel, where long tension has frayed nerves and made the Israelis fearful of both their Arab neighbors and the intentions of the United States. Another article, on the Arab world, reveals, rather remarkably, that there is a considerable similarity between the position of the Israelis and the Arabs, at least in one respect: Both are groping for a sort of middle-of-the-road international position. The word "neutralism" is one way of putting it. This refusal to take a stand with either the East or the West is predominant throughout the Middle East despite the fact that Israelis and Arabs depend so largely on the West, and particularly on the United States, and also despite the fact that the Israeli population is predominantly western and the Arab states, in their insistence upon the fullest measure of national independence, are following a western pattern.

The reader may share with us a certain feeling of sympathy for Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, who is being vehemently criticized by both sides, as **Ernest Stock** and **Simon Malley** make quite plain. Mr. Stock, at present in Israel on a grant from the Ford Foundation, has been a correspondent for the United Press and a writer for the Jerusalem *Post*. Mr. Malley, an Egyptian correspondent accredited to the United Nations, has just concluded a five-month tour through the Middle East.

A third article by **Harlan Cleveland** focuses on the economic situation in Israel. This new state has brought the twentieth century to the Middle East—and with it the traditional headaches of economic growth and national solvency. It would be best if all parties concerned forgot as speedily as possible the bitter and bloody quarrels of the past in order to work together and live in peace. But the Arab-Israel conflict does not concern Arabs and Israelis alone, and it cannot be solved by them alone. To a large degree, responsibility for a solution rests on the western powers and especially on the United States.

DAVE BECK, a labor baron whose fief until recently was in the Far West, but who, as national head of the formidable Teamsters Union, now makes his influence felt throughout the nation, is presented to our readers in an article by **Joe Miller.** In his toughness and indifference to ideology Mr. Beck resembles another generation of labor leaders, men who were job-conscious rather than class- or politics-conscious. The great difference between Beck and those men is that the complex machinery of today's industry gives Beck a power that the men of Samuel Gompers's school never had. Mr. Miller has been a labor reporter for the Seattle *Times* and executive secretary for the League for a Columbia Valley Authority.

We are particularly happy to introduce Congressman Charles B. Brownson, a Republican from Indiana who, we think, represents a new type of Republican politician. Representative Brownson, no headline hunter, has brought credit to his state and to his party in Congress by his careful investigative work. In preparing his article, **William H. Hessler**—an editor of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* and the author of *Operation Survival*—has carefully studied Mr. Brownson's background and voting record and has had a number of talks with the Congressman.

President Eisenhower's remark to the effect that TVA is an instance of "creeping socialism" caused considerable uproar in the Tennessee Valley. In a statement from which excerpts appear in this issue, **Governor Frank G. Clement** of Tennessee—who is no socialist, creeping or otherwise, but a conservative Democrat—answers the President. In this connection, our Washington Editor, **Douglass Cater,** went down to Tennessee to do some checking on the allegations made by critics of the TVA, and made interesting discoveries about the tactics of the public-utility lobbies.

As described by **Bogdan Raditsa,** the present Greek political situation should give us pause. In no European country has our government made a greater effort to be helpful. Yet the good intentions of our representatives in the field have somehow miscarried. There is much our diplomats must still learn about the new technique of non-imperialistic intervention. At least in the military field we achieved complete success in Greece, but when it came to helping the Greeks help themselves politically and economically, we somehow did not quite make the grade. We are glad to say that a future article by Mr. Raditsa will indicate that we have done better in Turkey. *The Reporter* intends to follow up this line of investigation of the concrete results our diplomats attain and the causes that make for success or failure. Mr. Raditsa, born in Yugoslavia, was an official in Tito's Government until he broke away from it in 1946. Last summer he revisited several of the countries which he had known as a Yugoslav diplomat. Mr. Raditsa now lives in this country and teaches at Fairleigh Dickinson College in Rutherford, New Jersey.

O. Henry Brandon, Washington correspondent of the Sunday *Times* of London, feels that there's probably been too much pessimism over the situation of the French in Indo-China, a country he recently visited. We are happy to publish his more hopeful views.

J. K. Galbraith, who reviews Mrs. Meyer's book, is the author of *American Capitalism.*

The cover for this issue was painted for *The Reporter* by **Dong Kingman.**

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The Reporter

A FORTNIGHTLY OF FACTS AND IDEAS

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Government by Bombshell

DURING the last few weeks, our Administration leaders have been making big news, as newspaper headlines on Trieste, on the Israeli-Arab conflict in the Middle East, on the reduction of our troops in Europe, and on the White-Brownell affair have shown day after day. For each of these news items some precedent can easily be found; certainly long before the Eisenhower Administration came to power, our nation was plagued by thoughtless diplomacy and garrulous high officials. Ever since George Washington, the Presidents of the United States, no matter whether in office or retired, have been exposed to atrocious abuse. What is alarming and unprecedented is the common trend, the consistent pattern, to which each of the news-making feats of the Administration bears witness.

Policy announcements are designed to detonate as loudly as possible. Sometimes the bombshell inflicts great damage to the prestige of the nation or the Administration itself; sometimes it turns out to be just fireworks or a dud. The manipulators of the bombshell are particularly concerned with its bang, and usually see that there are enough microphones at the right spot at the right time so that the greatest number of people may be jolted.

In the case of foreign-policy announcements, prior consultation with the leaders or diplomats of the foreign nations directly involved is considered old-fashioned. Tito had no inkling of the Trieste decision, and the Arabs first learned from the newspapers that Eric Johnston had been dispatched to bring the TVA brand of "creeping socialism" to the Middle East.

After each blast, no matter whether it is for foreign or domestic consumption, there is great confusion and scurrying around on the part of everybody who wants to exploit, repair, or counteract the damage that has been done. The pieces that have been blown up fail to settle down into a tidy, neat design. As has been said, nobody profited from the White-Brownell affair—not the new Administration and not the old one, and certainly not our nation. Nobody has profited or is likely to profit from the Trieste decision.

Yet government by bombshell goes on and on. It is a rather anarchic type of government, for there doesn't seem to be any centralized authority in charge of explosions. What the Secretary of Defense announces one day has to be denied by the President the next, but these denials do not help much to soothe our Allies' apprehensions. The chairmen of Congressional investigating committees do not show any willingness to give up their right to free and unfettered explosions. The battle for people's eardrums goes on.

THERE is reason in this madness, or at least there is a foreseeable outcome—an outcome that a few men cherish with fond anticipation. It is no less than the replacement of our Constitutional, representative democracy with direct democracy. Again, this trend was not set in motion by the Eisenhower Administration. It has been apparent ever since such means of communication as radio and TV made of what was called a national audience an actual reality — as real as the old agora, where all the citizens of Athens used to assemble. Like other great inventions, radio and TV have tremendously enriched our lives. They can also be instrumental in converting a people into a rabble.

The present trend toward direct democracy can be seen in what is happening to the separation or balance of governmental powers. The Legislative, particularly through Congressional committees, is constantly encroaching on the Executive. Within the Executive itself various Departments or subordinate groups compete with each other in presenting or "relating" their own cases to the public. The advocates of one type of armament or of defense take their case directly to the people. There is a growing intolerance of the judicial process, which, with its time-honored rules of evidence and its Bill of Rights, slows down the punishment that an aroused popular anger wants to bring upon marked men—no matter who is doing the marking. As to diplomacy, every man with authority enough to make news is free to try his hand at jeopardizing the coalition our country leads.

AMIDST the ever-recurrent explosions, there is always someone who is caught in the middle, sometimes bewildered, frequently buffeted and blackened by the blasts.

We are not talking of the man in the street. We are talking of the President of the United States. No matter how frequently we may have disagreed with him or expressed our disappointment at his lack of leadership, we cannot help relying on him. We rely on him not only because he is the man who has twice saved our coalitions but also because he is, politically, a conservative. And we do need conservatism today — hard-hitting conservatism against the radical subversion that is on the rampage.

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Frayed Nerves In Israel

ERNEST STOCK

TEL AVIV

JULY 20 was the eve of *Tisha b'Av,* the traditional day of mourning for the destruction of the two Temples, but on that date this year even pious Israelis felt more like dancing in the streets than like fasting. The Russians had suddenly announced their willingness to resume diplomatic ties with Israel.

Feelings had been quite different at the moment in mid-May when U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles stepped from his Constellation at Lydda to review the honor guard of crack Israeli paratroops standing rigidly at attention. The country was holding its collective breath and keeping its fingers crossed from that moment until, twenty-six hours later, Mr. Dulles crossed into Jordan after paying his respects to Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, the elderly man with the careworn face who is Israel's second President. Then Israel relaxed, still apprehensive but also confident, like a student who had just sat through his exams and thought he had done well.

But when on June 1 Mr. Dulles made his report, in a speech to the American people, the Israelis knew they had flunked after all. DULLES PROPOSES APPEASEMENT OF ARABS AT ISRAEL'S EXPENSE! was the burden of the headlines. The denouement came as such a shock that the quasi-official papers took an extra day before joining in the outcry. After that, the analyzing went on for weeks. The speech could hardly have been composed as painstakingly as it was taken apart.

To the Israelis Mr. Dulles's expressed proposals were bad enough, but the innuendo sensed in the speech hurt even more. The part most resented was the Secretary's call for the return of some Arab refugees to "the area presently controlled by Israel"—a phrase which was interpreted as a thinly veiled attack on Israel's territorial integrity. Later assurances by a State Department aide that the choice of words had no ulterior significance were not taken seriously.

ALTHOUGH three years ago Israel had offered to take back 100,000 Arabs, it has since taken the position that their total resettlement in the Arab states is the only solution. Israel's argument runs as follows: The refugees, if admitted, would create an unmanageable security problem; many of the refugees' former homes were destroyed and the sites are occupied by Jewish immigrants, while Arab countries like Iraq and Syria could make excellent use of refugee manpower for economic de-

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velopment; there are great difficulties in selecting the chosen few who would be allowed to return—if some were thus favored, would the rest be willing to accept resettlement?

The Dulles proposal was bound to strengthen the hope of *all* the refugees for eventual return and consequently strengthen their resistance to the idea of resettlement. Israel realizes that it may have some tough going when this subject comes up during the current U.N. Assembly session, but as of now it is determined to stick by its guns.

Another major rebuff was Mr. Dulles's somewhat oblique appeal for the internationalization of Jerusalem. Jerusalem has been an emotional issue for close to three thousand years, and the sensitivity here is even greater than in areas of merely economic or military importance. The city contributes nothing to the country's economy; it is chronically unable to balance its own budget. Strategically, too, the jagged half that is Jewish is more of a liability than an asset. But the very name is a symbol of strength, consecration, and age-old longing.

STILL ANOTHER point arose from Mr. Dulles's frank admission that the earlier concept of a Middle East Defense Organization (MEDO) had to be shelved, and that instead the United States could help "to strengthen the inter-related defenses of these countries if they want strength" so that a security system could "grow from within."

In Israel this could mean only one thing: American support of the arch-foe, the Arab League. Most political leaders and editorialists considered this the most dangerous part of the speech. They have no confidence in Arab guarantees that new arms and armies will not be used against Israel, and they know that these armies, efficiently organized and equipped with up-to-date weapons, would make a far more formidable opponent than the poorly-led and ill-co-ordinated troops of 1948. "The Dulles policy," said one Mapai Knesset Member, "is an experiment on the body of Israel."

THE MISCARRIAGE of MEDO also dashed two specific hopes that had been quietly nurtured for the past year: that the United States could somehow force or otherwise persuade the Arabs to make peace with Israel in the interests of common defense, and that Israel's military potential would so impress the western Allies that they would decide on a skeleton Mediterranean defense plan based on Turkey and Israel, the only two countries with effective armies in the eastern Mediterranean. This scheme, while leaving the Arabs out in the beginning, presupposed that they would eventually see the light and join up. To help the Secretary's thinking along these lines, the Israeli government had prepared an exhibit on the country's arms industry especially for the Dulles party. Mr. Dulles found no time to look at it.

"From the romantic, spiritual, poetic and similar points of view, Israel deserves respect," wrote Dr. Carlebach, the brilliant columnist-editor of *Ma'ariv,* the afternoon tabloid with the largest circulation in the country. "All of Mr. Dulles's admiration, inspiration, all of his faith is for us. But all the worldly and tangible things . . . go to our enemies." The grotesque episode of the pistol presented by Mr. Dulles to General Naguib of Egypt on President Eisenhower's behalf underscored this frustration. Israel's civilian Prime Minister didn't get anything.

While the Dulles speech was still sinking in, the Israelis were treated to another cold shower with

the publication, on July 20, of a statement by Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Henry Byroade before the House Appropriations Committee. His testimony included the information that the United States would "spend much more on arms for the Arabs than for Israel." This seemed to confirm what Mr. Dulles had merely hinted at, and to translate the Secretary's report to the people into actual policy. Dopesters in Washington press offices and Tel Aviv newspaper cubbyholes professed to know that the Arabs were getting $100 million worth of arms against Israel's $20 million. U.S.-Israeli relations deteriorated to a new low.

This was the atmosphere in which the renewal of relations with Russia was announced. It seemed almost like a cleverly timed counterpoint to the Byroade declaration. The specter of total isolation had been banished.

New Life for the Reds

With the resumption of diplomatic relations, the Communist and semi-Communist groups who had been beaten into a state of resignation after the shocks of the winter took a new lease on life. *Al Hamishmar,* the mouthpiece of the fellow-traveling Mapam Party, contrasted Radio Moscow's new protestations of friendship with the "different tune" being sounded by Washington. There is no relying on the friendship of warmongering imperialists, ran the refrain.

This sort of theme was not confined to the Left. ANTI-ISRAEL WAVE HITS U.S. read a headline over a roundup story in the usually stanchly pro-American organ of the General Zionists.

As far as could be learned, there was no factual basis whatever for this disturbing thought. The State Department, while anxiously seeking a way out of the Middle Eastern dilemma, had scrupulously affirmed that Israel would continue to enjoy financial support and that the traditional friendship between the two countries was in no way impaired. It turned out that all the arms aid envisaged for the Arab states and Israel together amounted to no more than $30 million, and that there was no immediate prospect of any of it being released in any event. As for Jerusalem, the United States appeared to have in mind nothing more drastic than a "functional internationalization" of holy places, to which Israel had no objection. In general the United States, in the words of President Eisenhower, did not plan to intervene in Middle

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Eastern affairs "unless requested to do so."

However, the record of U.S.-Israeli relations as summer went on provided further incidents to fit the picture of two countries at loggerheads. At a press conference late in July, Mr. Dulles was asked about the State Department's reaction to the transfer of the Israeli Foreign Ministry to Jerusalem. He replied that the move was likely to increase tension in the area and reasserted that the U.S. Embassy would not follow the Ministry to Jerusalem as long as the U.N. internationalization resolution was still on the books.

The transfer to Jerusalem had, in fact, been a long time in the planning, but the actual move was made rather suddenly and with hardly any advance notice. In an atmosphere which may be difficult for Americans to get used to but which is taken for granted in the European school of diplomacy, the move seemed to some observers a deliberate show of independence toward the United States. "If you don't play ball with us, we won't play with you either."

In Nobody's Pocket

Similarly, the readiness with which the Israeli government pledged not to enter into any aggressive alliance, as part of the exchange of notes leading to the resumption of relations with the Soviet Union, also contained elements of reaction against the alarming feeling of being in America's pocket. Israel hoped that the Russians would serve as a lever to regain the status it felt it had lost with the West through dependence and to show that it remained a factor to be reckoned with in the Near East. It was a delicate game. The Israeli Foreign Ministry felt impelled to explain to the West that the pledge signified nothing new: Israel had never planned to join an "aggressive" pact anyway. The fact remained, however, that nothing could stop Russia from imposing its own definition of "aggressive" should the occasion arise. In general, the Russians are not known for their willingness to be used as pawns, and when they reconsidered their hasty decision to pull out of Israel, it was certainly not because of a sudden conversion to Zionism.

In September, the Soviets also made their first friendly gesture in the commercial field. They offered the Israelis 75,000 barrels of crude oil a year, and a sample of the oil is now being examined. If quality and price are acceptable, Israel might

soon get some of the $30 million worth of crude oil it imports each year from nearby Black Sea ports instead of from Venezuela.

On the other hand, Israel's request for a $75 million consolidation loan from the U.S. to help it over constantly recurring difficulties in repaying short-term debts had been refused. Though the United States insisted that the action was based on the advice of economic experts alone, independent of politics, it was naturally regarded here as another manifestation of unfriendliness.

ONE TRIFLING incident which would normally have been overlooked but was now quickly spotted by Israeli newspapermen on the watch for signs and portents was that President Eisenhower, in a routine message of greeting addressed to the convention of the Zionist Organization of America, failed to mention Israel. "Eisenhower's snubbing of Israel is not merely a lapse, but the result of a well thought-out policy," wrote the rightist daily *Herut*. Its commentator attributed the new policy to the sympathy shown by Mapai, the majority labor party, to Adlai Stevenson in the election campaign.

America's decision to furnish emergency first aid to Iran also fell into the pattern. When it was learned that this money would come out of funds already appropriated for Middle East aid and that therefore Israel's share might have to be cut, one paper came up with a theory of its own. "Iran is but a pretext," it told its readers. "The U.S. has enough money left. The cut is a result of the Israeli Ambassador's speech at the U.N., in which he spoke up for India's admission to the conference on Korea."

Israel's natural inclination, as expressed in its delegate's speech, was to vote for India, in which it sees the leader of an emerging Asian third force of which it already considers itself a spiritual part, even if Arab hostility keeps it out in fact. But this would have meant flying in the face of the United States at a time when the size of the new grant-in-aid was still in the balance. The problem was being debated feverishly in Jerusalem almost until it was time for the vote. For a while it looked as if the argument that another show of independence was needed to regain the Eisenhower Administration's respect would carry the day. But then the shrewd old Prime Minister, Ben-Gurion, took time out from his vacation and cut through the knot. He sent word to abstain.

'Without Neurosis'

Before the current U.N. Assembly met, Ambassador Abba Eban stumped Israel urging his countrymen to "view the American attitude in its totality and without neurosis." His reports to his government probably were in a similar vein. But then came a series of major incidents with three out of the four neighboring Arab states which culminated in the Security Council debate and temporary suspension of American aid. In each case Israel felt that the United States was prompted by its new policy to side with the Arabs.

The clash with Egypt over the establishment of a new Israeli settlement in the demilitarized zone near Auna was the least explosive of the three and was fairly quickly disposed of. Nevertheless, the Israelis were convinced that it was part of a coordinated effort to undermine their morale and thwart their economic development. For at about that same time the Syrians launched their complaint against the Jordan hydroelectric scheme and marauders from across the Jordan frontier stepped up their night forays into Israel. The

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disputed hydroelectric project is but one link, though an essential one, in the ambitious irrigation and power project designed to bring Israel close to its elusive goal of economic self-sufficiency by using part of Jordan's

waters plus those of the Yarkon River near Tel Aviv to irrigate the arable but parched steppes of the Negev. (Although Israel is all in favor of regional co-operation on water, its enthusiasm for the project proposed by President Eisenhower's envoy Eric Johnston is dampened by the fact it makes no provision for irrigating the Negev.)

The specific object of Syrian protest is a canal which is to run parallel to the Jordan from Bnot Yaakov bridge in the north to the Sea of Galilee in the south, a distance of less than ten miles. Although the territory on both sides of the river is Israel's along the entire stretch, the area near the start of the canal is part of a demilitarized zone separating Israel's army from Syria's. Syrians claimed the canal would disturb the military status quo in the zone and also affect the water rights of some Arabs. Israel denied this, pointing to a decision by former United Nations truce supervision chief General William Riley, U.S.M.C., who had authorized a swamp-drainage scheme in the same area two years ago. Riley's successor, Danish General Vagn Bennike, upheld Syria and ordered Israel to halt the excavating, dredging, and scraping until it reached agreement with Syria. But Israel, doubting that the Syrians would ever consent, refused to comply. At this point Mr. Dulles told Ambassador Eban that the first payment on the current grant-in-aid would be withheld. The decision was kept secret for two weeks by mutual consent, with each side apparently hoping it could persuade the other to change its mind.

The Kibya Raid

Then followed the raid on Kibya in Jordan.

Although many Israelis privately condemned the killing of innocent women and children, there was actually more shock over violent world reaction to the affair than over the affair itself. During five years of complete isolation from neighboring countries, a certain blunting of sensitivity where these populations are concerned had undoubtedly taken place, and the nightly alarms had produced an atmosphere in which retributory violence seemed the only way out. Most Israelis therefore saw in the repercussions over the Kibya raid another attempt not only by the United States but also by Great Britain and France to side with the Arabs, each for reasons of its own, and pin Israel to the wall.

Thus the first reaction to the State Department's public announcement of the suspension of the grant was one of defiance and almost of relief: Now that we know we must go it alone, let's tighten our belts and work twice as hard. Even the usually moderate Mapai leaders made emotional speeches about not bowing down to the golden calf. A popular weekly came out with a cover picture of Mr. Dulles dressed in Arab headgear with a dollar sign as a clasp.

But after this letting off of steam there was general relief when the grant was restored after Eban announced that work would be stopped pending the outcome of the Security Council deliberations. The loss of more than fifty million dollars would have left a gaping hole in Israel's foreign-currency income for 1953-1954, with the minimum requirements set at $270 million, of which only $40 million was covered by exports.

Ben-Gurion's Retirement

There is no apparent connection between these events and Ben-Gurion's withdrawal from the political scene—the Premier had apparently planned his bucolic retirement to the Negev settlement some months ago. Yet the coincidence is symbolic. Ben-Gurion unites within himself a personality of almost demoniac force and the visionary's zeal. This rare combination of qualities not only helped maintain the dynamism of the Zionist movement during the past seventeen years but also largely directed it into the channel of statehood and beyond.

Today much of that dynamism is petering out, and the state is more and more forced to fall back on its own scant political and economic means in its struggle for survival. But Ben-Gurion is a man who does not believe in economics: The human spirit, he likes to proclaim, is stronger than all statistics. His exit symbolizes the end of an era when the state was sustained by the élan of ideals, and Israel's present difficulties with the United States, the Arabs, and the U.N. are perhaps symptomatic of the same transition to harsh political and economic reality.

It is significant that a man who has been mentioned as Ben-Gurion's possible successor, Levi Eshkol, is at present Minister of Finance. Eshkol, an astute Mapai politician little

known outside Israel, has been wrestling with statistics long enough to know they are real. He understands all too well what is perhaps the harshest reality about Israel's position today: that relations with the United States, peace with the Arabs, and economic stability are indivisible.

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Israel's Struggle—Round Two

HARLAN CLEVELAND

THE FOUNDERS of Israel made their epic dream come true: a national Jewish state. Their successors now face the harsh reality of stubborn economic facts.

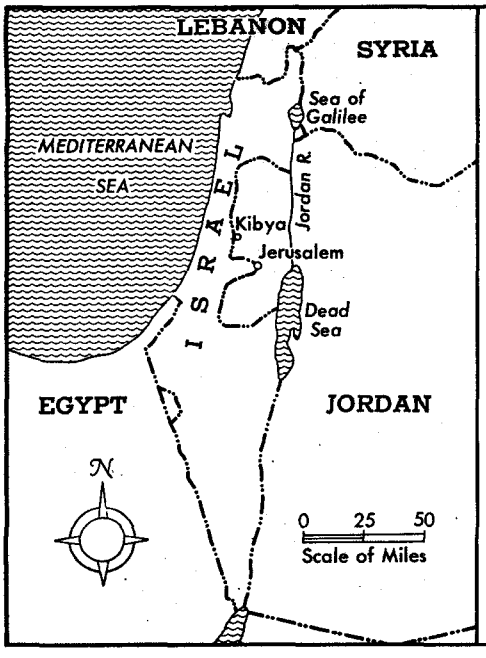
The overriding aim of Zionism was settlement in the Holy Land of all the Jews who wanted to live in a national state of their own. The attainment of national sovereignty was hard enough considering the obstacles that stood in the way and took absolute priority over the attainment of national solvency. The founders had other aims too: The men who led the new nation through war and peace believed with equal vehemence in Zionism and the welfare state. This double set of beliefs compounded the difficulties the newly established nation had to face.

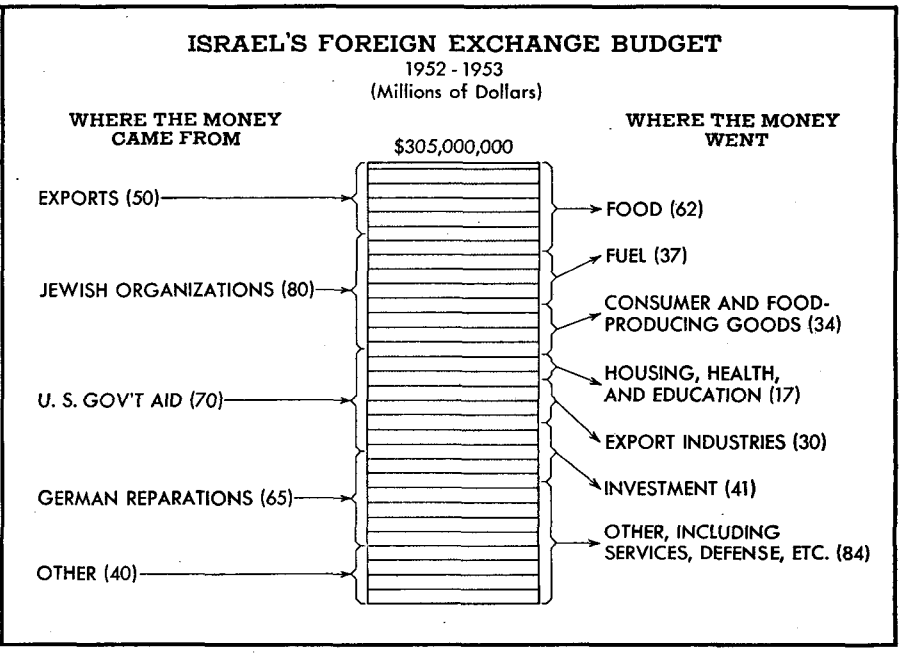
Even before there is peace on Israel's borders its leaders are coming to grips with the arithmetic of trade balances and production costs. The exceptional situation of the Jewish state has been met by exceptional means. Now Israel is seeking an economic "normalcy" of its own.

Israel's Ambassador once said that his country demands no special treatment; it should be treated like any other country whose population has doubled in the space of three years. What the Ambassador said is correct in the sense that the Jewish population has more than doubled. The country, however, has just about the same number of inhabitants.

Israel has only six per cent more persons per square mile than the mandate of Palestine had. But the more than 700,000 newcomers to Israel were brought into a society organized according to the standards of the western world. Each newcomer received, along with his citizenship certificate, his union card and social-welfare rights. The young people, men and women alike, were enlisted into an army which is clothed, fed, and trained along the lines of any good western army. The Arabs who left were mostly farmers of an almost medieval type and their farming was done with almost medieval tools. Their need for imports—of food, clothing, industrial goods—was very low. The new Israeli citizens do not eat Arab food or wear Arab clothing. Quite a few of them went into farming, but they do their farming with tractors and modern tools, not with wooden plows. Moreover, most of the newcomers needed training in farming and for that matter in most of the trades they went into. At least initially, therefore, their productivity could not be high.

NOT LONG before Israel was founded, American experts figured that Palestinian Jews spent twice as much as Palestinian Arabs on food, more than four times as much on





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clothing, footwear, and services, and five and a half times as much on housing. What the Israelis could not produce had to be provided somehow—to a large extent by foreign aid—if Israel was to survive.

Almost sixty per cent of Israel's 8,000 square miles is taken up by the Negev wasteland. Less than 1,500 square miles—under one million acres—are cultivated. Israel supplies its own needs of high-vitamin, low-calorie foods like fruits, vegetables, and poultry products. The Israelis are said to have the highest per capita consumption of vegetables in the world—not a very useful "first" when wheat, sugar, and edible oils, the items prominent in a western diet, are lacking. Moreover, Israel produces no fuel, no metals, no lumber.

All of Israel's exports—citrus fruits, processed diamonds, textiles, and a variety of consumer goods—do not suffice to pay for the nation's imports of food alone. This year, only one-sixth of Israel's budget was covered by exports. The rest was met by assistance from Jews all over the world, the sale of bonds, German reparations, and U.S. government aid.

Modern Prospecting

The Israelis have of course been combing their country for signs that it is not as barren as it looks. There are some hopeful prospects. The land yields phosphates which are easy to get at but which need to be upgraded and to be transported more cheaply than is the case now before they become commercially profitable. Potash from the Dead Sea was a useful export in the years when the British had Palestine; but here too transportation pushes the cost up and limits the amount that gets to the seaboard. A little copper has been found, and there is clay fit for ceramics which is already used locally and may lead to significant export. Research has shown that there are large opportunities for manufacturing plastics and other synthetics by using by-products from Haifa's refineries and minerals from the Dead Sea. Finally there are some indications that there is oil, and drilling is in progress.

But Israel's most important natural resources are the ingenuity and skills of its people. This ingenuity shows itself in more flexible, less dogmatic thinking among political and economic leaders. The pattern of wages and allowances has become the object of sharp criticism; louder voices now complain that the Prime Minister's salary is hardly more than his driver's. It is now said in high places that people in a poor country like Israel must eat their staple crops directly, not feed them to livestock. Larger farm units are advocated, particularly in that part of the country where too many one-family vegetable gardens are to be found.

Mr. Ben-Gurion is said to cherish the notion that Israel's future lies in becoming the Switzerland of the Middle East. Certainly in a world whose needs and techniques are constantly getting bigger and more complex, there is room for nations that specialize in importing materials and making them into exportable goods. Japan, Italy, Austria, and the Scandinavian countries have all lived by this formula in varying degrees. Britain is still holding to its role as a processing nation.

The Arab Boycott

There is no lack of enterprising Israelis with a high degree of aptitude for learning the skills that make industry go. The question is what materials are they going to work with, and to whom are they going to sell the processed results of their labor? Unlike Israel, Switzerland is surrounded by friendly nations. Can the Israelis live in some kind of peace with their neighbors?

The Arabs now boycott Israel entirely; the resulting waste is therefore two-sided. Consumer goods that Israel produces have to fight their way into the European market when they should be supplying the bazaars of Alexandria, Baghdad, and Beirut—and earning for Israel the money to buy Arab products in return. Haifa, a good port which once served an important segment of the Arab world and could do so again, has lost its shipping and transit trade. Tourists carrying useful pounds and dollars either skip Israel to avoid unpleasantness when they go on into the Arab countries, or visit Israel without any benefit to the rest of the Middle East. Money that could be used for dams and factories by the Arab and Israeli nations is spent guarding both sides of a land frontier six hundred miles long. Israel's only friendly border is the Mediterranean Sea.

The sealed frontiers do not inhibit only trade. They prevent any sensible joint planning for the best use of that scarce and valuable resource, the River Jordan. How to harness the river to irrigate farmland instead of letting it flow uselessly to the Dead Sea is the central problem of economic development in the area. But neither Eric Johnston nor any other emissary will make progress until some way is found for Jews and Arabs to work on the common task.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY has come to the Middle East, and all concerned will have to make the best of it. In Israel it takes the form of an established western state, which can become the source of industrial goods and the school of western skills for the whole area. In the Arab countries it shows itself in the irrepressible yearning for political and economic development. The best argument for peace is that without peace neither Arabs nor Israelis can hope to strengthen their sovereignty by achieving solvency.

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The Tense Arab World

SIMON MALLEY

I HAVE JUST returned from a five months' trip through the Middle East. In small provincial towns as well as in capitals I repeatedly encountered hostility toward the policies and methods of the West to a degree that I had not expected. A few Arab leaders are turning toward the Soviet Union but ever-increasing numbers of them are moving toward neutralism.

Colonel Adib Shishekly, military dictator of Syria, told me that the Arab world was far from agreeing with the western conception of "peace" or "international security." "Slowly but surely," he said, "the Arab world, regardless of the personal desires of its leaders, is turning into an autonomous force with a will and a policy of its own."

One of the ablest men in the military junta that controls Egypt, Lieutenant Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Deputy Premier, blamed American, British, and French foreign policy for the widespread determination of the Arab world to form a common front against both western and Soviet policy. "The only thing we have in common with western policy," he said, "is our determination to prevent the Arab world from falling under Russian domination."

In recent months three statesmen, two from the East and one from the West, have attempted to woo the Arab world toward their own policies. Pandit Nehru of India, Mohammed Ali of Pakistan, and John Foster Dulles of the United States have each presented their case in the Arab capitals. Only Nehru seems to have had a measure of success.

Two Kinds of Aggression

In the spring of 1953, Mr. Dulles offered generous economic and military aid in an effort to persuade the area's people that their interests lay with the West. On the Dulles proposals the Secretary General of the Arab League, Abdel Khalek Hassouna, had this to say: "We are asked to believe that the Russian threat justifies our making a military alliance with the West. How do you expect us to believe this when the majority of us feel that our nations are already the victims of western aggression? We look at France in North Africa, at Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, where British troops are stationed, or at Israel, whose very existence we Arabs attribute to western policy. How can they talk to us about the danger of aggression by a power several thousand miles away from our frontiers? Why should we join one of the two existing blocs—since by joining either we become automatically a military target for the other? It is said that under world conditions as they are today neutrality will be impossible when war comes. Very likely. But why ask for trouble in advance? Why take any action that one side or the other would be bound to consider provocative?"

Or, as President Naguib of Egypt put it recently to a group of American journalists: "I cannot be concerned with a fire which may be threatening my neighbor's house at a time when my own house is burning. . . ."

THE NEUTRALISM of India's Prime Minister Pandit Nehru, as expressed last June when he visited Egypt, had great influence not only in Cairo but in all the other Arab capitals. Mr. Nehru said that he was not trying to create any so-called "third force." He explained that the grouping of African and Asian nations which took form in the United Nations three years ago under the leadership of Sir Benegal Rau of India and Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi, now Foreign Minister of Egypt, should be considered more as a "third area" which could work for world peace by maintaining friendly relations with all nations.

Mr. Nehru's ideas were further developed by India's Ambassador to Egypt, Sardar K. M. Pannikar: "The actual strength of a nation imposes definite limits on its foreign policy. When it goes beyond these limits, a foreign policy becomes empty and meaningless. Both Nehru and General Naguib know that there can be no 'third force' that can stand up economically and militarily against the two giant forces of the East and the West. All other nations must realize that they are small compared to the Soviet Union and the United States. That is why Nehru, when he came to Egypt, sought to build up an Arab policy that would not depend on the weak military nations which compose the Arab world, but on the strength of their moral position."

I asked Hassan al Hodibi, Supreme Guide of the Moslem Brotherhood, "How can you hope to maintain this independence of action, policy, and decision today, when the slightest political incident has im-

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mediate world-wide repercussions?"

He answered, "How can anyone compel us to join them? By force? No. We have Gandhi's example. It proved that passive resistance can succeed. We are opposed to Communism but in equal measure we refuse to associate ourselves with the American juggernaut in order to fight Communism. You cannot combat ideas by force of arms."

ANOTHER VISITOR came to Egypt in June, 1953. He was Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan. Despite the bond of a common religion and the fact that Pakistan never recognized or gave assistance to Israel, Mohammed Ali failed to dispel Arab mistrust of his nation's foreign policy. The Arabs continue to believe that Pakistan has cast its lot with the western powers.

Mr. Dulles, on his trip last May, was in the first place handicapped by repeated broad promises made to Arabs by various official and unofficial representatives of the U.S. government, which had led to the widespread belief that the new Administration would reverse U.S. Middle Eastern policy. One Syrian Cabinet Minister told me, "I was convinced that the new Administration would turn its back on Israel, encourage Tunisian and Moroccan independence, insist on the evacuation of Suez—even if this meant disagreement with Britain—and that money for economic and military aid would pour in. At least under the Truman Administration we knew where we stood. . . . It had been explained to us that what with NATO and American agreements with London and Paris, it would be impossible for us to expect any radical change in American policy toward the Arab nations. . . . But after nine months of the Eisenhower Administration all our hopes seem lost, and believe me, it is harder on us than if we had known from the start what to expect."

When Dulles arrived in Cairo, he was greeted with an editorial headed "We Hate You, Mr. Dulles," written by Mahmoud Abul Fath, one of the most influential publishers in the Middle East. When Dulles made the curious gesture of presenting a pistol to General Naguib, the magazine *Rose Al Yussef* commented: "Mr. Dulles, what are we supposed to think you mean? Are you asking Naguib to start shooting at the British in Suez or are we to understand that we must preserve public order by gunfire in our nation—which, after all, is a democracy? Or is it the idea that our President needs a revolver to protect himself . . .?"

The JVA Snafu

The circumstances surrounding the recent mission of Eric Johnston to the Middle East with plans for a TVA in the Jordan Valley have certainly done little to revive the prestige of the Secretary of State or of American diplomacy. The manner in which the mission was announced showed such ignorance of Middle Eastern susceptibilities and political realities that a few Arab diplomats actually wondered if there might not be some deliberate American attempt to ruin the mission's chances even before it got started. Certainly there seemed no reason for placing the Arab representatives at the United Nations and Washington in the humiliating position of being unable to explain to their governments why they had had no advance word.

When the announcement of it appeared in the New York *Times,* the Arab diplomats and correspondents of Arab newspapers were bombarded with inquiries from home. They hastened to look into Mr. Johnston's background, and found that, among other things, he was vice-president of the pro-Zionist American Palestine Christian Committee. The United States, they cabled home, had selected the moment when all Arabs were infuriated by the Israeli raid on the Jordan village of Kibya to send a "pro-Zionist agent" to the Middle East to "impose peace between Arabs and Jews." The Baghdad government promptly announced that Mr. Johnston would not be granted a visa to enter Iraq. The entire Middle East press violently denounced Johnston, and few bothered to inquire about the purpose of his mission.

Nationalism and Hunger

In 1900, Turkey and Persia were the only independent nations in the Middle East. Two World Wars changed that. When the United

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Nations was created, the greater part of the Moslem world had become independent. But Middle Eastern tension remains extremely high. Many of its causes are external, but many more spring from the misery of the people themselves. It is true that the Arab peoples have awakened to a new consciousness and are extremely sensitive to any attack on their sovereignty, but in vast areas they have not overcome their ageless apathy toward social conditions. In a great part of the Middle East, poverty, ignorance, sickness, overpopulation, and superstition persist. More and more people realize that they cannot live on patriotism and flag-waving, and that undernourishment and miserable social and health conditions make national independence a mockery.

As one diplomat told me, "The tragedy of Middle Eastern nationalism is that its passions are directed against the outside world at a time when its fundamental weaknesses spring from within."

IT HAS BEEN Soviet policy, of course, to encourage neutralism in the Middle East. The Russians have succeeded in selling the idea that Russia unconditionally supports the national aspirations of all Arab and Asian peoples. On any and every occasion, Russia attacks the "imperialist" and "colonial" policies of Great Britain, France, and the United States. Also, there is no use denying that Russia's effort to depict the United States as a power that wants war has had a large measure of success. The Stockholm Peace Appeal was endorsed by more than three and a half million people in the Middle East.

Naguib on Stalin

The Egyptian newspaper *Al Misri*, which is neither Communist nor even pro-Communist but strongly nationalist, said last April: "How can we put any stock in the friendship or collaboration of a nation which dared to use germ warfare against civilians exhausted by two years of war . . .? There is no doubt in our minds that United States foreign policy is inspired by the need of a war in order to forestall impending economic disaster." *Al Misri* added: "In contrast to American policy, the Soviet Union promises a policy of peace, and that is the only one which can help nations struggling to insure their independence and their freedom."

When Stalin died, General Naguib went to the Soviet legation in Cairo and wrote the following tribute: "Stalin was a true hero and his name will live eternally at the side of those great ones of history whose virtues have been most extraordinary. No one will forget the power and the glory that he brought to his country during the Second World War, any more than anyone will forget his love for a policy of peace. . . ."

There are other indications of how successful Soviet diplomacy and propaganda have been in Egypt. Egypt is negotiating a commercial treaty with Moscow. The Soviets have engineered a trade arrangement between Egypt and Communist China, and in 1952 Egypt exported almost $9 million worth of cotton to Peking. For the first time since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Cairo and Moscow in 1943, Egypt some weeks ago authorized the import of Soviet films. Negotiations are now being carried on to raise Soviet legations in Arab nations to the rank of embassies and to exchange military missions between the Arab nations and the U.S.S.R. Recently Russian Mohammedan pilgrims to Mecca visited several Arab capitals. This was of course presented as evidence of freedom of religion in Russia, and now Soviet Mohammedans are being admitted to Al Azhar University in Cairo.

Prophet-Sharing Plan

It was a graduate of this university, the greatest in the Mohammedan world, who recently published a pamphlet called "From Here We Start." The author, Khaled Mohammed Khaled, seeks to prove that Islam has a common base with Marxism and that there is no fundamental contradiction whatever between the two doctrines.

AS MY TRIP went on, I became more and more inclined to wonder how much truth was left in the old slogan, "Islam is Communism's greatest obstacle." It is true that many Arabs who believe that Communism furthers their cause are in no way true converts to Communism. But it is also true that their numbers and influence are increasing. There is no immediate danger that Communism will dominate the Middle East. But the seed has been well sown, and there will be workers for the harvest.

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Dave Beck Comes Out of the West

JOE MILLER

ABOUT THE TIME this fall when Martin Durkin was leaving the Department of Labor, Washington was beginning to be very much aware of the recent arrival from the Northwest of a man whose impressive future on the national labor scene seemed as certain as did Durkin's eclipse. The man was Dave Beck, general president of the AFL's International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers, the nation's biggest union. Beck's autocratic power over his 1,300,000 members is generally agreed to exceed that of John L. Lewis over his Mine Workers; his power among the businessmen with whom he deals is unparalleled in labor ranks; his potential political power is now being nervously gauged in the capital.

There is no secret about the immediate plans of the pink-faced, steel-eyed man from Seattle, who has, in thirty years, worked his way from a laundry wagon to undisputed leadership of America's most powerful single union. His present membership goal is three to four million, and he may well achieve it.

After standing poised for years beyond the Rockies somewhat as Attila the Hun threatened Rome from beyond the Alps, Beck was unanimously elected to replace the aging Dan Tobin as head of the Teamsters in October, 1952. Now he has moved his headquarters to Washington, with a union treasury of $29 million and eighteen hundred tough organizers behind him.

When Beck recently announced the capture of nineteen thousand CIO Brewery Workers in violation of an unofficial AFL-CIO no-raiding agreement, a reporter asked him what Walter Reuther might think. "I don't give a damn what Reuther thinks!" shouted Beck in his high-pitched voice. "Who in the hell is Walter Reuther to me?"

The remark is typical of Beck's disdain toward most other labor leaders. Of Reuther he says, "He's just a one-industry man. He runs a big local." John L. Lewis is the only leader toward whom Beck reveals hero worship. But unlike Lewis, Beck scorns overt manifestations of militancy. "What the Teamsters want," he says, "is peace and per capita. I hate paying strike benefits."

Many labor leaders are men of dedication, eloquent speakers, determined negotiators, even outstanding intellects. Surprisingly few of them have exploited their power to its furthest possible limit. Even Lewis allowed his own corrosive ego to betray him at the moment of his greatest strength. Beck seems relentlessly consistent in his devotion to the belief that God is always on the side of the heaviest battalions. "Dave's whole idea is to *make* you come to his office, not *ask* you," says an associate.

Education of an Autocrat

Dave Beck learned the dynamics of power at an early age. His family was very poor, and he began selling papers when he was seven. Seattle was a lawless, brawling Gold Rush town in 1901, and the stocky little redhead found that squatters' rights to a good street corner had to be defended with fists.

Beck managed to put in three years at Broadway High School before his father's shortcomings as a provider forced him to go to work with his mother in a laundry. It was twelve-hour-a-day work, and as young Dave trudged home nights carrying laundry sacks, he vowed to escape from poverty.

In 1917 Beck experienced his first strike, when the local of which he had become a member, Laundry Wagon Drivers 566, went out for higher wages. The strike lasted three weeks and the union lost, because, as Beck said, "We didn't have sufficient economic pressure to exert upon the bosses."

When America entered the war, Beck enlisted and went overseas. A few months after his return, the famous IWW-led Seattle general strike of 1919 occurred. It was a flop, and Northwestern labor lost much of its hard-won prestige. Beck's disgust gave him further basis for his aversion to the strike as a weapon.

Unlike most of the younger members of his union, Beck didn't drink or smoke and shunned loafing around. Besides making money, his recreations were reading and taking night business courses at the University of Washington. "I read the biography of every famous man, especially Lincoln," he says.

By 1925 Dave had impressed the

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Teamsters' boss, Dan Tobin, enough to be rewarded with a job as an international organizer. His improved social status was signalized by his admission to the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. It was a big event in his life. "I made friends with judges and businessmen," he recalls. "Pretty soon I was calling them by their first names."

Despite Beck's white-collar contacts, the Teamsters intensified their efforts to create the "economic pressure" that had been absent in 1917. Mysterious bombings occurred at plants whose owners shunned the Teamsters. Farmers' milk was dumped. In Oregon several Beck organizers received jail sentences, and Beck's chief lieutenant was imprisoned for hiring arsonists to burn down a box factory there. For years Beck nervously avoided entering the state.

Beck has always piously disclaimed responsibility for such violence, and has carefully refrained from direct public association with it. In 1933, when he was trying to organize a non-union taxi company, bossed by one "Tanker" Smith, known as "king of the scabs," Beck's parting admonition to his followers at a mass rally was, "If you see any Yellow cabs, *don't* turn them over." That evening every Yellow cab that appeared ended on its back.

'That Last Mile'

Beck is not simply a strong-arm man. Even his most vociferous enemies admit that he has a definite genius for organization. When he started to organize the West for Tobin sixteen years ago, there were only sixty thousand Teamsters. To inflate this total, Beck created what he called the Western Conference of Teamsters, which is now recognized as probably the most brilliant organizing mechanism ever to exist in the AFL. Today there are 390,000 Western Teamsters. The latter word has been defined with increasing looseness; Beck's duespayers include morticians, stenographers, cannery workers, and Hollywood stunt men. "Dave will take anybody he can get his hands on," says a unionist. "Then he'll find some kind of a justification for it. A 'teamster' to him is anybody who sleeps on a bed with movable casters."

Today, with complete control of the men who drive the trucks and handle the goods at distribution points, Beck has the potential strength to make or break strikes in hundreds of industries. John L. Lewis can still paralyze the national economy, but this requires his carrying on a costly war of attrition. He cannot single out one area or industry and strangle it piecemeal. Beck can, at relatively little cost to himself. In a light moment, Beck once composed a bit of doggerel to describe this power. Called "That Last Mile," it goes like this:

"No matter how it's sent,
By rail, sea or air;
The Teamsters have to drive
It that last mile, or else
It won't get there."

THE VERSE neatly explains Beck's enormous economic authority, which he has used in the West with

devastating effect. He even organized Los Angeles, whose business leaders had bragged that it was "the last citadel of the open shop," by refusing to allow Teamsters to handle L.A.-manufactured products in his San Francisco and Seattle strongholds.

The Los Angeles campaign was a rough, brutal war, and both sides played it that way. "Trucks had to crawl up the 'ridge route' into L.A. at three miles an hour," recalls one of Beck's veterans. "You couldn't miss the window of a scab truck at that speed. We broke a lot of windows and signed a lot of new Teamsters."

Once Beck was inside the door, he went through his now familiar routine of shedding his brass knuckles and ingratiating himself with the businessmen. His wage demands were generally reasonable and the sanctity of contracts was guaranteed. If an employer couldn't afford to raise wages, he was shown how he could jack up his prices to cover the increase and incidentally better his own profits.

Another public-relations maneuver was to break the strikes of other unions by rolling goods through the picket lines. During the 1940's this method was used to help crush a general strike in Oakland and others by Los Angeles retail clerks, Harry Bridges's warehousemen in San Francisco, and Boeing aircraft workers in Seattle.

Beck blandly describes such efforts as "instances of the clearer heads of labor making concrete contributions to the cause of free enterprise." He justifies his intrusions in other strikes by saying that "The Teamsters who control everything that rolls on wheels are automatically affected by every labor dispute. We will . . . not try for short-term popularity at the expense of our integrity."

Presently the very people who had fought Beck hardest became his strongest supporters. The Los Angeles *Times*, which battled "Beckism" for years, now calls Beck "a leading force for labor stability in southern California." The Seattle *Times* once asked, "How do you like the look of Dave Beck's gun?" (which cost the paper $10,000 for libel). Some years later, that paper was wishing that "there could be more Dave Becks in the national labor picture."

Businessmen corroborate this estimate. "I don't like the labor racket," said one. "But if we have to have it, I want Dave Beck to run it. You can depend upon his word. He never lies." Another has said, "Most labor leaders don't know what makes business tick. Dave does, and that's why he is the white hope of labor."

Beck's discovery of his remarkably useful formula began in the late 1930's. The new CIO, generaled on the Pacific Coast by the Communist-tinged Harry Bridges, leader of the

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International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, was marching inland. Beck saw his chance to capitalize on the business community's fear of Bridges's leftism. He suddenly shifted his sights and posed as the businessman's friend. When Bridges predicted the eventual demise of the employer class, Beck replied:

"Some of the finest, most honorable men I know are employers. Sound labor leaders will try to find a common ground of understanding between labor and employers."

Under such ardent wooing, business warily accepted Beck. When business discovered that Beck was in the habit of keeping his word, the uneasy liaison blossomed into real romance. Beck was enchanted with his new-found favor on the right side of the street. He conveyed this delight with orthodox pronouncements on such issues as public power, health insurance, and government controls. Years ago he told a surprised Teamsters' convention:

"We want government to get out of business as quickly as possible—and stay out!"

Businessman or Labor Leader?

Beck was speaking both as a labor leader and as a big businessman in his own right. He is now reputedly worth over a million, largely earned in legitimate real-estate speculation. He considers himself a businessman-in-labor rather than a unionist with business sidelines. His attitude is summed up in his boast, "I run this union just like a business."

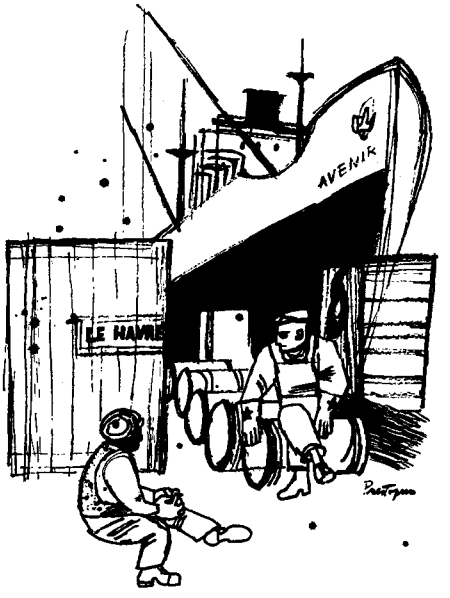
"Dave fancies himself as the director of a huge labor-supply corporation," a reporter has said. "He is selling a product—human labor—just as Westinghouse sells refrigerators. He tries to get the best price he can for his product, but that's as far as his union ideology goes."

Beck's apparent apostasy and his octopus-like attempts to engulf weaker unions have earned him the widespread dislike of almost all other unionists. For years epithets of "strikebreaker," "business stooge," and "No. 1 traitor to the labor movement" have been thrown at Beck.

Beck is not unaware of such attitudes. Although he has discounted them by saying, "For every enemy I make in the labor movement, I make a hundred new friends in the Chamber of Commerce," he has attempted to neutralize the hostility of other unionists by means of jurisdictional pacts with several powerful AFL groups.

That this may be at best an uneasy truce was evident at this year's AFL convention in St. Louis. When AFL President George Meany denounced raiding tactics, in a pointed yet anonymous reference to Beck, most of the seven hundred delegates broke into thunderous applause while Beck, the newest AFL vice-president, sat impassively on the platform.

Beck had a pious answer ready. "We are not looking for any fight



with other unions," he said. "However, we do not intend to sit by idly and watch encroachment of our work and pirating of our members." An exponent of the "always attack, never defend" psychology, Beck promptly accused seven big AFL unions, among them Carpenters, Electrical Workers, and Plumbers, of "violating" his jurisdiction.

Experienced labor people believe that, regardless of pacts, Beck will continue to create trouble wherever he goes. If this is true, then a series of costly, drawn-out jurisdictional conflicts is in sight. In the unorganized field, Beck sees 750,000 distributive workers ready to be herded into the Teamster corral. "Organization work in the garage, parking lots and service station field is in its infancy and offers one of the greatest potentials," he says. "The possibilities of organizing in the service trades fields . . . are areas in which we have not scratched the surface."

Beck says his most immediate target is the warehouses of the greater Midwest. The strategy seems obvious—and shrewd. With complete control of Midwest distribution workers, he would be in a commanding position to exert powerful pressure on the unorganized Southern truckers and distributors and to checkmate any moves by the CIO factory unions.

As a merchandiser of labor, Beck understands that distribution is national and interrelated. Dan Tobin never quite grasped this economic fact. In Tobin's heyday the Teamsters were a loosely controlled group consisting of many semi-autonomous feudal principalities. Teamster bosses in the cities had a free hand; in Chicago Al Capone's henchmen had control until Beck, on assignment from Tobin, went into the gangsters' headquarters unarmed and negotiated it back.

Glad Hand and Brass Knuckle

In his drive for national power, Beck has a number of impressive personal assets. He has tremendous tenacity of purpose and phenomenal command of detail. He says, "I never forget or overlook anything." His memory is so remarkable that he still remembers the names and addresses on his laundry route thirty-five years ago. "When Beck used to negotiate contracts, he knew more about my business than I did," a businessman has said.

Beck displays an acute sense of timing in his organizing campaigns and in his interunion relations. Although he had coveted Tobin's job since 1940, he waited for it to be awarded him last year through natural ascension. For years there had been whisperings in the praetorian guard around Tobin that Beck was out to dump the old man. Beck, however, made no overt move, but took care to eliminate all other competitors, including Tobin's sons.

ALTHOUGH Beck is often brutally short with underlings and officials of weaker unions, he is not without bluff charm when he wants to exert it. The gladhanding ability he learned in the Elks has helped him in consolidating his control over

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anti-Beck pockets within the Teamsters in such places as New York, Pittsburgh, and Chicago.

Beck is always loquacious and willing to talk on a variety of subjects. One of his pet topics is what he calls the "Washington Monument" a white marble edifice he is building in Washington for a new Teamster headquarters.

The redundant cliché dominates Beck's conversation to the extent that even his best friends admit to being bored by him. His calmer discourses are marked by a curiously stilted phraseology; instead of saying "We will organize this group," Beck will say, "We plan to bring the benefits of unionism to them." When he gets excited, which is often, his conversation becomes all but incoherent.

The expensively dressed Teamster leader is rather anxious to offset certain popular impressions of himself. He denies that he approves everything that business does. Of the New York dock situation he says:

"The owners are as much to blame for the New York dock situation as are the racketeers. The problem has been created because of the employers' greed for cheap Sicilian labor."

Beck sees himself as a middle-road labor leader. "The CIO and the leftists like to label me a reactionary," he says. "Some businessmen who don't know me still say that I am a radical. Neither are right, of course. The fact is that somewhere along the line we are going to work out the American system of labor ideals."

What Beck seems to mean by "American labor ideals" is bread-and-butter unionism. "Basically I feel," he says, "that the country should not be controlled economically and politically by either business or labor."

Beck never allows himself to be led into side alleys. There is no waste of strength in any venture not calculated to bring direct benefit to the Teamsters. In state legislatures Dave's lobbyists restrict their efforts to advancing pro-Teamster or pro-trucking legislation. Beck is not apolitical, but when he backs a candidate it is with money and without publicity, and for the specific good that can be done. Beck is regarded so poorly in Seattle that since 1938 his open political support has been tantamount to a kiss of death. Beck says, "I have never tied myself to any political party. Of more concern to me than somebody's election is what a politician may do to help or hurt my relations with the businessmen with whom I deal."

Lately Beck's political efforts have been limited to teaming up with the trucking industry to fight the railroads. He views such labor-management co-operation as a milestone. *Fortune* has pointed out that Beck and the truckers tend to ignore the fact that such hand-in-glove activities may adversely affect the consumer.

While Beck is frankly obsessed by the industry-labor co-operation he has fostered, it does not mean that he would, as some critics have suggested, ever sell out the membership. Despite his susceptibility to business symbols and his conservatism, he is still a labor man to the core.

The Head Office

Contrasted with Walter Reuther's brilliant, dedicated CIO staff, Beck's bureaucracy tends to the second-rate, and at Beck's headquarters any display of intellect is usually highly suspect. "Our developed talent is too often attracted to management," Beck complains, but the real reason many people have refused Beck's job offers is that the Teamster climate is not conducive to independent thinking. "It's hard to work for Dave and maintain any sense of personal dignity," one assistant has said.

Beck's subalterns are worked hard. "Half the time the old man is liable to call you up at 3 A.M., and you have to have your job on your mind at all times," according to a Teamster official. "The pressure is terrific." In Seattle Beck created a remarkable little union empire around his palatial home at Sheridan Beach. He flanked the house with smaller houses, which he sold to Teamster satraps. To them he made his swimming pool, private theater, and huge recreation room available. "Dave puts a premium on sycophancy," according to an old associate. "But he doesn't even bother to try and command personal loyalties. He knows the men are there for a good paycheck, nothing else. But he doesn't care."

The greatest single factor in Beck's Western success has been his ability to play the "If I don't get you, Harry Bridges will" game with business. Beck has failed to make conspicuous headway in areas never threatened by Bridges. Merchants in Portland, Spokane, and a number of other Western cities never played ball with Beck because there was no counter-threat.

As yet Beck hasn't found a made-to-order national foil as useful as Harry Bridges. Obviously, Beck would like to make Walter Reuther into one. Most labor experts believe that Reuther is too smart to get caught in this role. They also say that Beck, with his now immense powers, does not have the same need for a foil that he had in 1937.

Beck's ultimate aims have been the subject of considerable speculation. The candid opinion of one of his closest associates would seem to be nearest to the truth. "Dave doesn't want to go any place that he isn't already," he said. "He doesn't want to be the messiah who brings the divergent parts of the labor movement together. He simply wants the kind of power that will make Reuther, Meany, and Lewis jump when he barks. And maybe he'd like to put Charlie Wilson and Irving Olds through the hoops, too."

Sounded out not long ago about his aspirations toward the AFL presidency, Beck said, "If they offered it to me tomorrow, I wouldn't take it. I suppose, in some minds, it's a great honor. But ninety-nine per cent of the time the AFL president spends is in the legislative field. I think what work I can do in the organizing field is tremendously more important than what I might be able to do in the political field."

Privately Beck is inclined to be rather contemptuous of the AFL central machinery. Since he has upped his per capita payments from 625,000 to 1,300,000, he feels that he is the AFL's principal support and can look on George Meany and his staff somewhat as employees.

Beck's ultimate aims seem to be somewhat obscure even in his own mind. "I limit my concentration to the immediate task," he says. "But when other questions come up I will find an answer for them. You can be sure of that."

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Mr. Brownson of Indiana—Twentieth-Century Republican

WILLIAM H. HESSLER

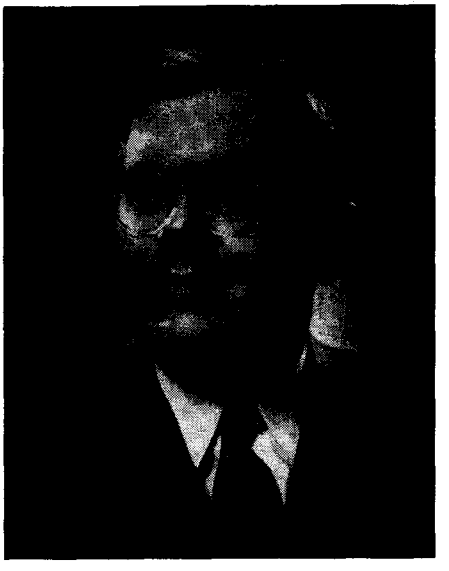
SOME RATHER important people in Washington – Presidents, Secretaries of States, and such—have been trying for some time to put a halter on Syngman Rhee with no success at all. It has remained for a little known Republican Congressman from Indianapolis, Charles B. Brownson, to get a curb into the mouth of the intransigent Korean President and twist the reins.

Brownson will undoubtedly become better known, for the simple reason that findings of investigations he conducts stand the test of time. He isn't after headlines. He isn't after victims. As chairman of the Subcommittee on International Operations of the House Committee on Government Operations, Brownson just wants to see that the U.S. taxpayer's dollar, when spent overseas, buys a whole dollar's worth.

The report Brownson's subcommittee released when it returned from Korea a few weeks ago takes the redoubtable Rhee down a number of pegs. It accuses the headstrong Korean of insisting on "building memorials to his administration" instead of filling the bread-and-butter needs of a people suffering desperately from a spoliation of their luckless country. Rhee, says Brownson, wants a new Capitol simply because the present one was built by the Japanese. He also wants superhighways, four lanes wide, across a mountainous country where there are few motor vehicles.

America doubtless owes the Korean people a good deal of help in reconstruction, and Charles Brownson won't quarrel with this. But whether we spend $600 million or $6 billion, this plain businessman from Indianapolis wants to see the money spent for things the Korean people desperately need, not for monuments to the megalomania of a political boss.

TO GET an accurate picture of Brownson himself, you must begin in Indiana. The official motto of the state is "The Crossroads of America." At the geographical center of this central state is its capital and only large city, Indianapolis. Right in the center of Indianapolis



is Monument Square. This handsome circular plaza has as good a claim as any public square in the country to be called the crossroads of America. And on Meridian Street, the north-south bisector of the city, two hundred yards from Monument Square, you'll find the Central Wallpaper and Paint Company.

In a secluded little office toward the rear of this establishment—but only on rare weekends during a session of Congress—you'll also find the proprietor, the Honorable Charles B. Brownson, Representative in Congress of the Eleventh District of Indiana, which consists of Marion County.

In his second term at the age of thirty-nine, with a mane of graying hair quite Congressional in aspect, Brownson is by no means a major figure in the Eighty-third Congress. But he is a significant figure, as a specimen of the change that is coming over the Republican Party.

No Tears for Mellon

When Franklin Roosevelt was inaugurated in March 4, 1933, Charles Brownson was nineteen years old. The great depression was safely over before he was graduated from the University of Michigan. He then built a bankrupt wallpaper and paint business into prosperity in the climate of the New Deal.

Republicans of this vintage tend to take for granted the value and permanence of the liberal reforms of the 1930's. Instead of turning instinctively to the road back to the halcyon days of Coolidge, they are inclined to start from where we are right now and deal concretely with problems at hand. They do not act primarily on the basis of nostalgia, for the simple reason that they don't miss the Mellon era. If they served long years overseas in wartime, as Brownson did, they tend to carry their widened horizons into their political thinking and become internationalists. And if they answer to an urban constituency, as Brownson does, they may even be ready for reforms—a Fair Employment Practice Committee, for example—that would carry the New Deal another step forward.

His internationalism contrasts strikingly with the ornate chauvinism of Indiana's eloquent junior Senator, William E. Jenner. And his

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The Reporter

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open-minded, liberal-conservative approach to economic problems stands in vivid opposition to the conservative-reactionary ambivalence of the mind of Homer Capehart, the state's senior Senator. Brownson thus has little in common with the two Hoosier Senators, but is much closer to the third of Indiana's front-runners in Congress, Charles A. Halleck, veteran of eighteen years in the House and now Majority Leader. Yet while he welcomes the friendly guidance of Halleck in the mazes of the legislative process, he usually does his own thinking and his own voting.

CHARLES BROWNSON was born in Jackson, Michigan, grew up in Flint, Michigan, went through the University of Michigan as a psychology major, and then decided that Flint, a General Motors preserve, was not his kind of town. In 1936, after a year of training in the Army as a Reserve second lieutenant, he went to Indianapolis, bought a nearly defunct wallpaper and paint business, and put it on its feet. But after five and a half years Brownson, at the government's invitation, reported for duty at Chanute Air Force Base in Illinois.

"I told the sergeant there I guessed I'd be in for a year," Brownson likes to recall. But the sergeant grinned with the gentle sadism of sergeants, and said: "It'll be more like five years, Lieutenant!" And Brownson concludes: "That's when I learned that sergeants are nearly always right. In fact, it was five years and seven days."

Brownson was assigned to staff duty with the First Army. He went into Normandy on D day plus one and rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel on the staff of General Omar Bradley. After V-E day there was a brief tour of duty in the far Pacific, and by March, 1946, he was back in the wallpaper and paint business on Meridian Street, with a livelier interest in public affairs than he had before the war.

Something of a joiner, like most politicians, Brownson moved up in the American Legion to district commander, without absorbing the attitudes that organization sometimes instills. In Indianapolis especially, where the Legion's national headquarters bulks larger than the State Capitol, a practicing politician cannot afford to ignore the Legion. But Brownson points out that when so large a proportion of the male population are veterans, and more are going through the military service year by year, we just can't regard veterans as an elite which the mass of citizens should subsidize.

Leading a group of young Republican war veterans in 1946 and 1947, Brownson found the Marion County G.O.P. a pretty tight closed shop. The county machine had deteriorated to the point where able and responsible men just wouldn't run for office on its ticket. The young veterans deposed the county chairman and then moved in. In 1950 Brownson was chairman of a committee to find a candidate for Congress—one strong enough to break the spell and put a Republican into a seat that Democrats had occupied for twenty-two years. The chairman of the committee found nobody who was both satisfactory and willing to make the race. He found himself running. It worked, and Brownson went to Congress.

In 1952, Brownson had a windfall in Eisenhower's popularity. Eisenhower did much better in Marion County than in Indiana as a whole, taking sixty-four per cent of the vote and leading Stevenson by 58,079. Brownson, however, did nearly as well, with a plurality of 51,527. This was hailed by Indiana newspapers as the largest Congressional majority in the history of Indiana. It seemed to indicate that Charles Brownson had real political strength of his own.

The Purpose of Investigations

A major factor in his re-election was his conscientious handling of the problems of his constituents, based on the belief that the Congressman is the citizen's main link with a massive, remote government too big for him to understand or find his way around in. Another big factor, apart from the Eisenhower tide, was Brownson's earnest committee work—devoted almost exclusively to the task of promoting efficiency and economy in the routine operations of government.

In the Eighty-third Congress, Brownson is chairman of the subcommittee on International Operations of the House Committee on Government Operations, which is surveying more than eighty agencies that spend American money outside our frontiers. In March, he discovered the expenditure of $28 million of counterpart Deutschmark funds for apartments and houses for American personnel at Bonn. He thought it odd that American officials in Germany should spend $28 million for flossy buildings.

Brownson also checked into the suicide of John Montgomery, of the State Department's Finnish desk. His subcommittee found it a genuine suicide, did not put the finger on anybody, and did not bid for public attention. But it did turn up eight distinct violations of personnel procedure in connection with Montgomery's ill-starred career in State. As Chairman Brownson visualizes it, the function of his subcommittee, covering the whole range of overseas expenditure, is not to produce victims every so often for trial in the daily press. It is to cut the cost of the U.S. government's international operations by increasing their efficiency, and by proposing corrective legislation when that is necessary for results. He has supported all Administration overseas aid bills to date, but he wants the money spent efficiently once it's appropriated. Brownson would rather get action than victims.

Brownson is apprehensive about Secretary John Foster Dulles' notion of a strictly non-operational State Department, because he fears the extravagance and bad co-ordination of a dual or tripartite mechanism for the conduct of operations overseas. So he has urged the White House to hold up the reorganization plan for State and other foreign-relations agencies.

BROWNSON'S other committee assignment is Public Works, primarily in the Subcommittee on Roads. He is back of the idea, which he got mainly from his wartime experience in Germany, for a Federal superhighway program—two great toll roads running east and west, two or three running north and south. These would be limited-access, high-speed highways by-passing the cities but linked with them, designed for the nation as a single entity. He

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would have the Federal government build such a grid, which would justify its cost in terms of military security alone but would also pay for itself through gasoline sales on the right of way and (perhaps for a limited period) toll charges of one cent a mile.

Although, like most of his Republican colleagues Brownson wants to see the Federal government leave all possible functions to the states, he believes this new highway grid must be a Federal job, for two reasons: first, that national defense requires a net of super-roads that can be commandeered for exclusive military use in a major war, and second, that highways should be planned and built primarily for the people who are to use them, not the people who happen to live along them. State highway expenditure often has reflected the leanings of rural-dominated legislatures, with the bulk of funds serving farmers and small towns, and little going to create great arterial roads to serve the nation as a whole.

A Look at the Record

On questions outside the scope of his committee work, Brownson's voting record is that of an internationalist and leans to the liberal side of the conservative position. He believes intensely in Point Four as the logical pattern into which our present overseas aid should move in coming years, as the channel through which America can give the world the best things it has to offer in reply to Communism—the techniques of producing abundantly for human needs.

This earnest man from Indianapolis is a free trader, in the sense that he would have the country move by stages to ever greater reciprocity, until import duties are largely and quotas entirely abolished. He gets little high-tariff pressure from his own district, except from some trade-unionists; and he is worried by the fact that labor groups are now vying with manufacturers as lobbyists for protectionism. He inclines to favor the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway, though reserving judgment until it comes before the House. Since Brownson is from one of the largest cities in the United States not on navigable water, he encounters little pressure from his constituency on this question.

Some issues, however, Brownson approaches in terms of what his district wants or opposes, rather than by his own preferences. This was the case with public housing in April. He voted with the House majority to eliminate the funds for thirty-five thousand units of public housing requested by the President. He did so, however, not from any doctrinaire hostility to public housing, but simply because Indianapolis has a promising redevelopment program in private and semi-public hands, and because under existing conditions Indianapolis could not get any of those thirty-five thousand

dwelling units if they were authorized by Congress. He also thinks that private enterprise should have one more chance to build for the low-income market, and that if it fails the municipalities should have a go at housing before the Federal government takes it on afresh.

Perhaps with some thought to the Negroes who constitute about fourteen per cent of Indianapolis' population and who are nearly half of all the Negroes in Indiana, Brownson is ready to go along with a compulsory FEPC. He's not a crusader for it. In fact he doesn't bid for bloc votes especially, by this or other means. But he does try to speak for all segments of the 551,000 people he represents—156,000 more than any other Indiana Congressman.

Brownson voted reluctantly for the tidelands oil bill. "I'm a believer in the party system," he says. "I personally didn't like the idea of turning these resources over to the states. But Eisenhower campaigned on that basis, and he won. Tidelands oil was perhaps the clearest single issue on which the Presidential candidates disagreed. Consequently, I have to regard Ike's victory as a public mandate, overriding my own viewpoint."

Brownson is no Red-baiter. "I'm much more worried about the superpatriotic trend towards reaction than any Communist trend in this country," he says. "The super-Americans of the extreme Right are the best allies the Communists have in the United States. If the ultrapatriots came to power and were on top for a while, they would give the Reds their chance to rebuild a popular following.

"There was a trend to the Left," he points out, "from the depths of the depression until the end of the Second World War. The current wave of jingoism is a reaction to that leftist trend. And this reaction is the prime danger today."

This outlook, of course, reflects the perspective of a man who has read history thoughtfully. It was in evidence when the Subcommittee on Public Buildings became interested in the West Coast post-office murals done by a man who belonged to various organizations listed as subversive. Brownson's position on the matter is temperate but clear. "I'm sorry the man was hired," he says, "because it means some of the money probably went to organizations working against America's best interests. But the murals are there. They've been judged by competent critics to be good art. I can't see any point in destroying them. If we do that, it means we're ready for book burnings."

CHARLES BROWNSON doesn't lend himself to quick or easy labeling. After a study of his voting record and his declared opinions, probably the most appropriate definition of Brownson would be "liberal-conservative."

He is an internationalist on foreign policy; a nationalist rather than a states-righter on public roads; a liberal on civil-rights issues; a liberal on tariff policy. On public

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housing he is a right-of-center exponent of the principle of making haste slowly. On tidelands oil, he is a loyal Republican. He rejoiced in public when Representative Harold Velde (R., Illinois), chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, was slapped down by Mrs. Eugene Meyer, wife of the publisher of the Washington *Post*. He frankly deplores the abuse of power by the Junior Senator from Wisconsin, whose Committee on Government Operations is a browbeating, headline-hunting counterpart of the quiet, businesslike House committee covering the same problems. Brownson believes with characteristic earnestness that committees of Congress exist to unearth information of value, not to expose and certainly not to vilify individuals.

All in all, this small businessman with a scholar's approach to public problems is a refreshing and constructive example of that small but growing body of younger Republicans who have gone to Washington, not to sabotage the New Deal but to administer it more efficiently—not to establish a new doctrine but to set a new standard in the conduct of government.

Don't Let TVA Be Wrecked, Mr. President!

GOVERNOR FRANK G. CLEMENT

On October 8, 1953, Governor Frank G. Clement of Tennessee presented to President Eisenhower a report on the Tennessee Valley Authority. Excerpts from that report, which was written in response to the President's recent remarks on TVA *and "creeping socialism" (see box, page 29) are given here with Governor Clement's permission.*

MR. PRESIDENT:

To those of us in the Valley who have to do with it, the Tennessee Valley Authority means the democratic action of the people of a region, in partnership with the Federal government, to conserve and develop the resources of that region for their own and the nation's use.

For two decades, the Tennessee River Valley has been a pilot plant to show how men can develop their resources by democratic means, for the benefit of all the people and, I humbly submit, Mr. President, to the greater glory of God. It has been a civic inspiration and an economic touchstone to us, in this land.

The whole world has been watching our progress here. Today, in India, in Syria, in Japan, in Australia, and in Peru the story of the Tennessee River Valley carries a message of faith in man's ability to build a stronger material basis for greater freedom—and more. In this disillusioned and fearful world, there is no symbol of American democracy more persuasive to those enslaved by poverty and those enslaved by Communism, alike, than the TVA.

I mentioned TVA as more than a material basis for greater freedom and what I mean, Mr. President, is that an electric power dam can be a religious symbol, as certainly as a cathedral can; that a rural cooperative board can be devoted to Godly ends, as well as a board of Methodist stewards.

CONCEPTION of the TVA Act was typically American and democratic. It was not, as some have supposed, *struck full-grown from the brow* of some New Deal brain-truster. It originated with Congress. It is the product of thirty-odd years of trying to harness the public interest and private enterprise, of worrying and wrangling, of trial-and-error procedure.

The Tennessee River and, specifically, Muscle Shoals, were recognized as a national problem as early as President Monroe's Administration, when Secretary of War John C. Calhoun proposed an expenditure of Federal funds at the Shoals for a navigation canal.

A canal was finally built and by 1898, the problem at Muscle Shoals had shifted to water-power development. Continuously from that time on until World War I, the problem was agitated before Congress. Several bills were enacted and all of these early bills provided for either the development or operation of a hydro system by private power companies. None, however, was willing to meet the terms offered. The conservationist viewpoint was first voiced, not by Franklin Roosevelt, but by that great Republican President Theodore Roosevelt. In 1903, he vetoed a bill for private power company development at the Shoals which, he thought, did not protect the public interest. And on that general subject, he said: "It is especially important that the development of water power should be guarded with the utmost care by both the National Government and by the States in order to protect the people against the upgrowth of monopoly and to insure to them a fair share in the benefits which will follow the development of this great asset which belongs to the people and should be controlled by them."

War came and the Federal government, authorized by the Congress, under a bill by a Southern conservative, did begin the development at Muscle Shoals. It was still incomplete when the war ended and, during the decade that followed, it

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resumed its former status as a Congressional headache. Leaders of private industry made bids. But none of them made the government a proposition that Congress was willing to go to the people with.

I might say that over these years, the members of Congress—and Republican Congresses they were—as they exhausted one recourse after another to protect the public interest under some plan for private operation, gradually shifted ground to favor public operation, so that you had a public-power bill passed by a Republican Congress, vetoed by President Coolidge in 1926, another vetoed by President Hoover in 1931.

From Idea to Actuality

This legislation entrusted to a regional agent of the Federal government twenty years ago flood control, navigation improvement, and power generation in the Tennessee Valley area. Today, there are thirty major dams in the Tennessee River system, and half a dozen major interconnected steam plants.

This system provides security from floods to thousands of acres of land in the Tennessee Valley and reduces flood hazards to an additional 6,000,000 acres of productive land along the Mississippi River. Flood savings average about $11 million a year, with more than half these benefits outside the Tennessee Valley.

This same multiple-purpose system provides a broad waterway 650 miles long, which is a part of the eight-thousand-mile inland waterway system and has as truly become a vital part of the economic life of the region. Where traffic in 1933 amounted to 33 million ton-miles—most of this was sand and gravel which moved short distances—traffic now is nearing one billion ton-miles annually and includes oil and gasoline, automobiles, coal, steel and iron products, fertilizers, corn, and wheat. Shippers using the Tennessee are now saving more than $10 million a year in transportation charges. . . .

The assignment for developing the broad use of power recognized its close relationship with flood control and navigation, and was in keeping with the traditional American concepts that the electric business, whoever owns and operates it,

PROMISES, PRONOUNCEMENTS, AND POLICY

"[The Hoover Dam] is a perfect example of what men can do to increase our natural resources for the benefit of all the people, and do it intelligently without digging it out of the taxpayers' pockets."

—Dwight D. Eisenhower
Las Vegas, June 22, 1952

"Certainly there would be no disposition on my part to impair the effective working out of TVA. It is a great experiment in resource development and flood control for this particular area."

—Dwight D. Eisenhower
Memphis, October 15, 1952

"If I am elected President, TVA will be operated and maintained at maximum efficiency."

—Dwight D. Eisenhower, in a telegram to Loye W. Miller, editor of the Knoxville News-Sentinel, *November 1, 1952*

"[The Federal Government should] get out of the business of generating and distributing power as soon as possible [and] rescue free men from this variety of creeping socialism."

—Herbert Hoover
Cleveland, April 11, 1953

"Q: In your trip out West, you referred in one of your speeches, I believe, to your intention to turn back creeping socialism of the past twenty years. That has caused some confusion in some minds, and I wonder whether you could give us some concrete examples of that creeping socialism."

"A: He would give specific examples. Not long ago this appeal was made to him in behalf of the expansion of Federal expenditures in the TVA region. And it was this, that since the Federal Government had seized and was purchasing a monopoly in power down there, that it was impossible for that locality now to expand unless the Federal Government spends more money down there. They quoted as one of their needs for more power that a number of industries from other sections of the country, New England and other places, want to come down there seeking cheap power. So we get to this curious thing in the socialistic theory that we, all of us, provide cheap power, such cheap power for one region that . . . it can appeal and take away the industries from the other sections of the country. It seems that we have got to have some kind of re-evaluation of all these things."

—from the President's press conference, June 17, 1953

"The President's recent remarks concerning the TVA were directed, not at the Authority itself, but at those who argue for its ever-increasing expansion."

—Homer H. Gruenther, Special Assistant to the President
August 11, 1953

"He said there were certain features of that development that were alarming from the viewpoint of his political philosophy, but he never said that the whole thing was such a terrible example of socialism."

—from the President's press conference
October 8, 1953

"I think the TVA should be sold to private business. I don't think the Federal government should have built the TVA project in the first place."

—Dean Clarence Manion, Chairman of the Inter-Governmental Relations Commission, on a television progam, October 19, 1953

"He had always stated that the TVA was a historical fact, and he didn't even know it could be sold to private industry without doing something to wreck the whole system. After all, the govenment used a great portion of the power developed down there in the eastern part of the state, and he had no idea—he had no comment on such a thing, because that would be a pretty drastic step, wouldn't it?

—from the President's press conference, October 21, 1953

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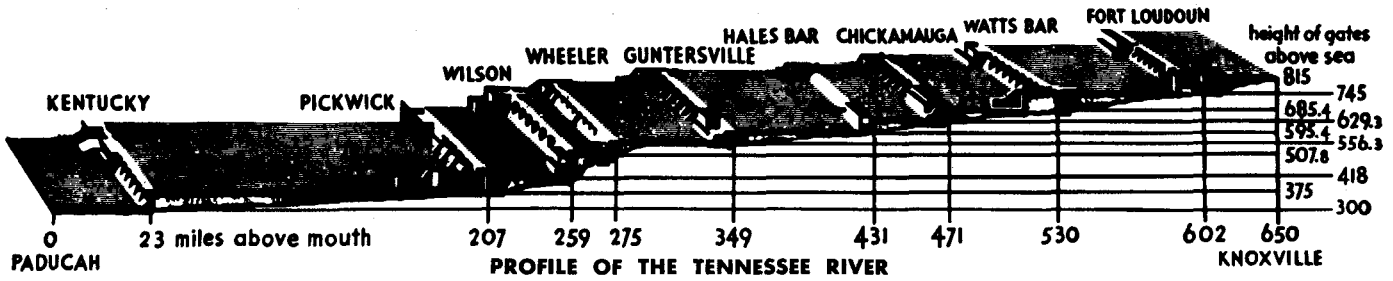

PROFILE OF THE TENNESSEE RIVER

is a public business. Today, the region has a hydroelectric generating capacity of 3,291,435 kilowatts and 1,836,550 kilowatts of steam power. Use of electricity has grown from 1.5 billion kilowatt-hours in 1933 to 27 billion kilowatt-hours in 1953 and is increasing at an accelerating rate.

TVA SET OUT to generate and transmit electric power, but the people of the Valley "put it into the distribution field." Every state in the area passed a law authorizing municipalities and rural areas to vote on concentrating with TVA for electricity. And they were not long in taking advantage of their opportunity. In rapid succession they voted the private power companies out of the Valley.

In no other major area of the country do the local people do more of the job of distributing electricity than in the Tennessee Valley area. Ninety-seven municipalities, fifty-one rural co-operatives, and two local private companies own and are operating and paying for distribution facilities to deliver TVA power to some five million people.

The individual communities decided, usually by vote, to do the job this way, and local merchants, bankers, farmers, doctors, lawyers, and teachers serve on the boards that direct the affairs of the local systems and see that maximum local benefits are attained.

These local systems are developing widespread use of electricity at low rates, the goal stated by Congress in the TVA Act. In 1933 only three per cent of the farms in the region had electric service. Today, ninety per cent of the farms have electricity and many areas are practically 100 per cent electrified. *The average domestic consumer in the region uses approximately twice as much electricity as the average for the entire nation, and pays only half as much per kilowatt-hour.*

When the nation was plunged into World War II, the revitalized Tennessee Valley proved a bulwark of national defense. The tremendous electric energy potential of the Tennessee Valley was a major factor in choosing a site for the first atomic plant in the United States and in the success of this country in the atom-bomb race. Though perhaps the most dramatic contribution of TVA to the war effort, this was by no means the only one.

The region's agriculture, its productivity restored by the TVA fertilizer and test demonstration program, poured out record quantities of food and fibre to help meet the needs of the nation at war. TVA chemical facilities at Muscle Shoals produced sixty per cent of the munitions-grade elemental phosphorus used by the armed forces and its electric-furnace research aided industry in producing the other forty per cent. Throughout the Valley the hundreds of private industrial plants whose machinery was turned by TVA power added their part to the production of defense materials.

TVA's contribution to the tremendous power demands of the atomic-energy program did not end with the war. Today, a major portion of the expanding TVA power-generating facilities are earmarked to supply the AEC with 25 billion kilowatt-hours per year for the new atomic-energy plant at Paducah, Kentucky, and for expanded plant at Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

More than half of TVA's total output of electrical energy is used regularly in the production of materials essential to the national defense.

We Pay Our Way

By 1956, TVA will be supplying 25 billion kilowatt-hours a year to the Atomic Energy Commission's plants at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and Paducah, Kentucky. *It is nearly double the amount of hydroelectric power than can be produced on the* TVA *system in a year of average rainfall.* This power must obviously be provided by new steam-power plants.

While there is some hydroelectric potential still to be developed in the region, it is small in relation to the growing power needs.

Earnings from the sale of TVA power have averaged, for the past twenty years, better than a four per cent return on the investment devoted to power operations. This is considerably more than the cost of money to the Federal government and sufficient for TVA to keep well ahead of the Congressional requirement that all funds appropriated for power operations be paid back to the U.S. Treasury within forty years after the facilities are placed in service. In addition, power operations have provided more than $200 million for investment in transmission lines and other power assets which are the property of the Federal government.

MR. PRESIDENT, perhaps you are preparing to ask me how so sound, so solvent, so beneficial, so high-purposed, so esteemed an institution as TVA could incur the general, all-out and bitter attack of the private power industry—or at least that of its leading spokesmen? The advertisement writers of the National Association of Electric Companies are making much of the private power companies as *private enterprise.* That claim is less than a half-truth. What they are, in fact, is private *monopoly.* And they are monopolies of public business.

Since the beginning, we have in this country considered the power business, whoever owns and operates it, a public business. The idea is as indigenous as cornbread. Private corporations engaged in the electric business enjoy *privileges* granted by the public. They use the public streets and roads as right of way for poles, lines, and under-

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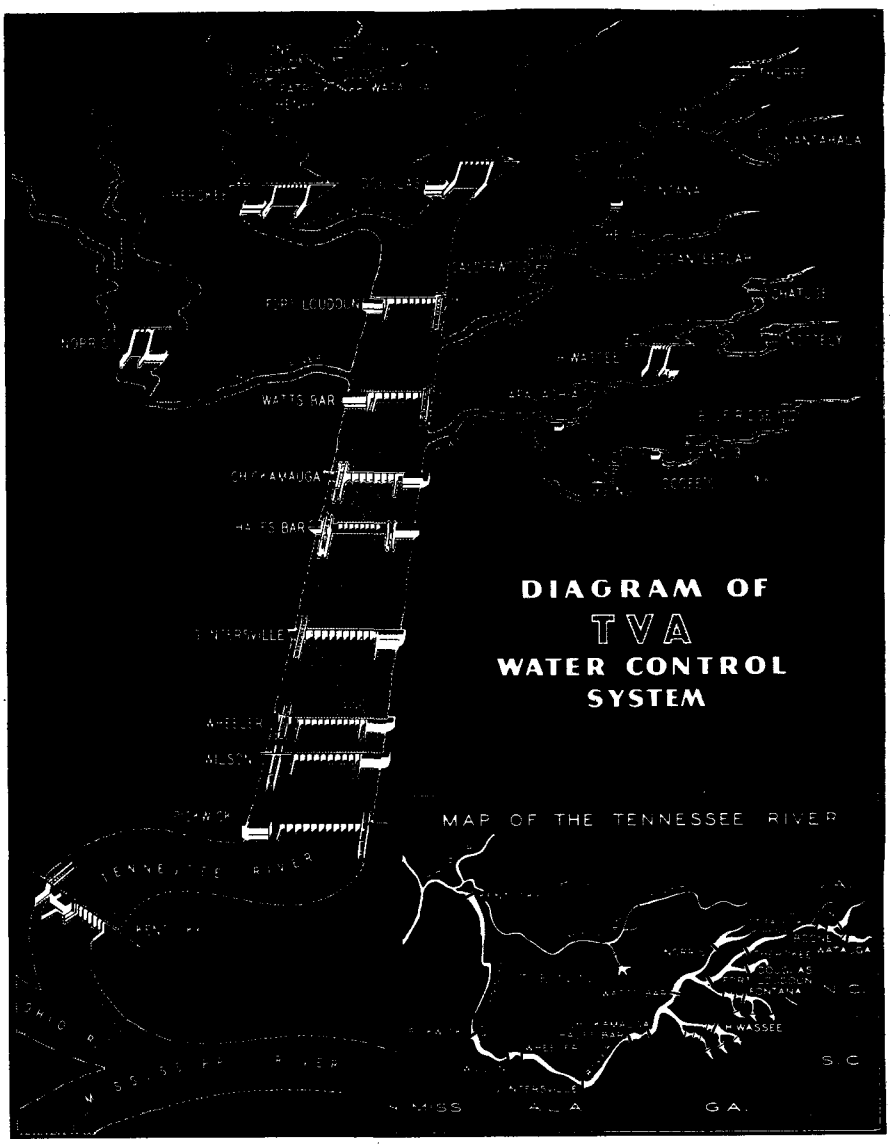
ground circuits; they are permitted to exercise the sovereign right of eminent domain to secure land and right of way for their plants and facilities; they are granted exclusive marketing rights over defined areas, or at a defined level; laws are passed to assure them a reasonable level of earnings.

Why have they been, why are they now given these unusual privileges by the public? First, electricity is not just another "commercial product," as they would have us believe, to be placed on the commodity market at the highest price it will bring. Electricity is energy, a basic necessity of community and national life, an absolute requirement for minimum national strength and security. Every community is entitled to an adequate supply at reasonable rates.

Because of its vital nature and because of the great capital investment necessary to generate and distribute it, we have not subjected generation and sale of electricity to the conditions of free competition—the spur, the tonic, the police, the very life blood of private enterprise. In our great belief in private enterprise, in our faith in its wholesomeness for society, we have granted private corporations monopolistic protection, under public regulation. That this compromise was questionable is evidenced by the fact that there have been publicly-owned electric systems since the beginning. Indeed, in 1882, the more or less accepted date of birth of the industry, there were four publicly-owned electric systems.

Public regulation of these private electric power monopolies in this country before TVA was not notably successful. It was this very ineffectuality that nurtured public operation over the years, even though, because it was done at the municipal level and in small generating units, it became increasingly uneconomical. It was, if you please, this very lack of success that eventually converted practical-minded members of Congress to the public management of power in the Tennessee Valley—not for the sake of public power, mind you, Mr. President – but for the cause of *private enterprise!*

Remember the *Insull Empire?* The story of power company corruption before the day of TVA is a sorry one, indeed, but we haven't time to go into it here—for I could spend a week recounting it. But the actual corruption, the manipulation of public utility commissions was not the worst effect of our old system of public regulation. Instead of electricity being cheap and abundant through the vital factor of private enterprise, it was scarce and high-priced. And what had happened to the vitality of private enterprise within the Egyptian court of monopoly? The truth is that private enterprise cannot thrive—yea, cannot *live,* without the whip of competition.



And that, if you please, is just what Congress intended when it put TVA into the power business, and that is just what TVA is today.

Private corporations generate and sell four-fifths of all electric power in this country today. And roughly, as a ratio between private and public operation that is, perhaps, sound. The TVA does not aim at the socialization of the power industry in this country. God forbid! Such an eventuality would defeat the very purpose for which it was given stewardship over the Valley's electricity. It could no longer operate as both the bundle of fodder and the bull whip to spur on the ineptly harnessed team of Private Enterprise and Public Monopoly.

Sincerest Form of Flattery

The private-utility spokesmen have been crying for some years about the unfairness of TVA competition. But they don't present any figures to show who or how many were put out of business. The private power industry doesn't appear to be anemic today nor is it weak of voice—

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not judging by the report that it spent $20 million last year promotionally, most of which was devoted to its fight against TVA. To be exact in the matter, TVA, of course, does not compete with private power companies in their respective franchise-protected territories. The competition is merely by example and often it has been by inducement.

But it has been effective. The recent words of Mr. Hamilton Moses, president of the Arkansas Power and Light Company, reveal this. He said in *Business Week* (May 30, 1953) that his company "has been afraid of something like an Arkansas TVA for twenty years [and] has fought it by pushing rural electrification, by selling power to rural co-operatives cheaper than the Government's power system could, and by building Arkansas." Such emulation, Mr. President, is an eloquent compliment to the influence of the TVA example. And what better proof of the fact that the benefits of the investment in TVA are felt and enjoyed outside the Tennessee Valley?

The Resale Clause

If you were to offer the whole TVA generating and transmission system to private power interests today, under the same terms that TVA holds it, both with the government and with its own customers, you would not find a taker. Private power money wouldn't touch it! And the reason is the *resale clause* in the TVA Act.

It was not only, or even principally, the generation of cheap power in the Tennessee Valley that brought cheap electricity to the average consumer. It was the resale clause. It was those competitive free-enterprise conceptions: the TVA promotional rate and the TVA inducement rate. Those two little ideas incited a revolution in the power industry in America and restored competition, restored life to an industry moribund from monopolistic stagnation.

(Editor's Note: TVA *owns all the power-generation stations in its area. It does not own the distribution systems, which ordinarily produce most of the profits in a private power operation.* TVA *wholesales power to distribution systems owned by municipalities, co-operatives, and directly to a few big industries in the Valley.*

When it sells its power to these customers, the TVA's *contracts include a "resale clause." This clause fixes a ceiling price which the city or co-op can charge to the final user of electricity.* TVA *has generally set this "promotional rate" low enough to encourage more and more people to use more and more electricity, reducing the unit cost of producing and delivering power in the Valley. As one* TVA *expert put it, "All we did was apply Henry Ford's idea to power—and it worked."*)

Mr. President, I say let the private power industry yell its head off at TVA—the situation is wholesome for both of them. But don't take their rage too seriously.

To take the TVA to be a pattern for nationalizing the power industry is to wholly misunderstand its significance. It is peculiar to the Tennessee Valley, where through intelligent conservation it has brought to us great economies in the use of our natural resources. It performs no service that has not been long performed through someone or another of the existing departments of the Federal government. It merely decentralizes these services to the regional level and places them in one agency.

It is a blessing of our windfall that we have low power rates; nevertheless, we pay our way. It is no inconsiderable national blessing that the TVA windfall provides this country with something of an electric power stockpile against emergencies. And finally, this unique Congressional mandate of which I have already spoken was to inspire the private power industry, not destroy it—the fact that the national average electric rates have been reduced by sixty per cent since TVA came into existence is evidence that it has and is carrying out that mandate.

The Case of the Phantom Factory

DOUGLASS CATER

THERE HAS recently appeared in the Tennessee Valley the report of an incident that gives a striking example of the devious but effective tactics currently being used by the opponents of TVA.

Early last June, Arthur E. Wooden, secretary of the Madison, Indiana, Chamber of Commerce, sat down and wrote angry letters to newspaper editors throughout the Middle West. He announced that the Fantus Factory Locating Service of New York had been dickering with Madison to locate a new aluminum mill for one of its clients, which would mean employment for 1,400 Madisonites. It would also utilize 35,000 surplus kilowatts capacity of the private-enterprise steam-generating power plant being built there to furnish power for a great new atomic-power installation. Things were proceeding splendidly, according to Wooden, when suddenly he was informed by Fantus that "Madison in final tabulation had been scored second and that our failure to secure first choice recommendation was due to the availability of a Tennessee Valley Authority power contract that would save it one million dollars a year as against the quoted low power price offered by the Public Service Company of Indiana."

Here, it seemed, was direct evidence to substantiate the charge often made against the Tennessee Valley Authority. The repercussions were immediate and widespread. On June 12, the United States Chamber of Commerce sent out a detailed

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story in its Washington Letter captioned: TVA COMPETITION MAY COST INDIANA BIG INDUSTRIAL PLANT. The editorial writers of a dozen Midwestern newspapers took up the chant. It was BLOODSUCKING BY TVA, according to the Cincinnati *Enquirer,* and SCANDALOUS POWER GRAB, according to the Muncie, Indiana, *Star.* On June 15, the Associated Press carried a story date-lined Madison, Indiana, which was devoted exclusively to the remarks of Anthony Datillo, Jr., president of the Madison Chamber of Commerce. The story ended on a somber note: "If we have to continue to compete with cheaper power supplied by the taxpayers' dollar, we are going to lose other valuable industries."

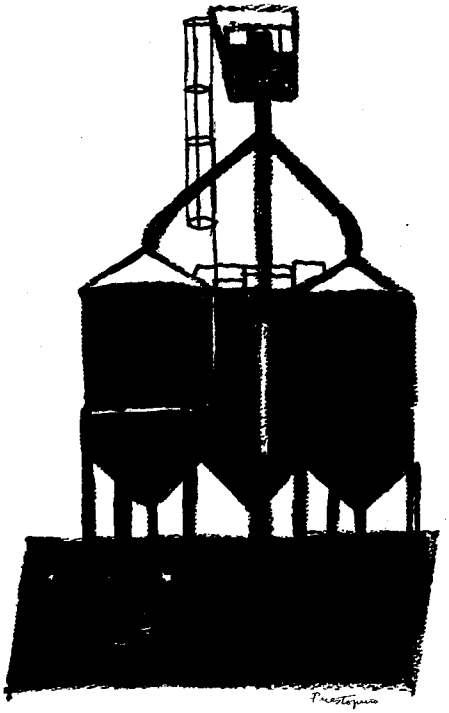
"It seems a strange paradox," agreed William H. Book, executive vice-president of the Indiana State Chamber of Commerce, "and the TVA at the present time is trying to get more money for new steam generators."

Indeed, this was precisely the time that TVA appropriations were being considered by the committees of Congress. Funds for the proposed new Fulton Steam Plant had already been chopped off by the Budget Bureau and there was a strong movement to cut still deeper. From the point of view of pro-TVA Congressmen, this attack could not have been worse timed. Indeed, it was only two days after the Associated Press carried its story that President Eisenhower at his weekly press conference chose to criticize TVA.

What made it so difficult to answer on short notice was that TVA officials were unable to discover the industry that they were accused of stealing. They had received a vague inquiry from Fantus some months earlier about a possible plant site, but there had been no identification or exact details of the type of mill to be built.

Early in July an enterprising reporter for the Nashville *Tennessean,* Nat Caldwell, decided the story needed to be double-checked. He called Arthur Wooden, of Madison, Indiana, the original complainant, for more specific information about the stolen plant. Wooden's response was surprising. "I'm still trying to find out if the industry was anything more than speculation," he replied. He said he planned to check further to determine "if anybody ever planned to locate the prospective plant anywhere." The Fantus Plant Locating Service had told him there was such a plant, he said, and had advised him to "persuade the Federal government to go out of the power selling business." When Caldwell called Fantus in New York, he was told that Wooden had quoted remarks made in a "spirit of levity."

And so the case of the stolen aluminum mill ended. Neither the Associated Press nor the U.S. Chamber of Commerce bothered to send out a new story. The Fulton Steam Plant, scheduled to start operation in 1956, failed to get its appropriations restored. The White House continued to send out letters explaining the



President's concern about "industries from other sections of the country . . . wanting to move in and take advantage of the low-power cost resulting from TVA's monopoly in the Tennessee Valley region . . ."

THE ACCUSATION of industry stealing dies hard, even though TVA officials are prepared to offer documentary evidence that only eight industries, none from New England, have moved to the Tennessee Valley —a number that surely must fall well within the limits of normal industrial migration. The most widely cited exemplar of TVA "piracy," the Massachusetts Knitting Company of Columbia, Tennessee, actually moved in 1931, two years before Congress had established the TVA.

TVA officials have no such difficulty documenting instances of industrial boycott of the region they serve. Early in 1952 the city officials of Mayfield, Kentucky, were eagerly soliciting a Westinghouse plant soon to be built somewhere in the South when they received word from the general industrial agent of the Illinois Central Railroad advising them, "Westinghouse will not go into any territory exclusively served by TVA. This is due to the fact that they have a large business with privately owned power companies." Enraged, the Mayfield Chamber of Commerce wrote to Fantus, which, by a curious coincidence, was serving as Westinghouse's agent. On February 1, 1952, the reply came back from R. F. Hay of Fantus: "With reference to your letter . . . I was under the impression that we had told you that we were forced to give up Mayfield since our client instructed us to pass up any territory served by TVA."

ON THE SUBJECT of TVA "socialism," there have recently come to light the results of a poll sponsored by the Electric Companies Advertising Program and conducted by the Opinion Research Corporation in 1949, shortly after President Truman's reelection. Its purpose was to get a sampling of opinion on the issue of public versus private power. E.C.A.P. published a booklet stating conclusions reached from that poll. The booklet reveals that sixty-three per cent of the people polled recorded themselves as for TVA; only ten per cent were against. Sixty-nine per cent, however, thought "socialism" was a bad thing; only ten per cent thought it was good.

The booklet concluded: "From the preceding charts it is apparent that to link our fight to the TVA question would run us into a lot of opposition, most of it based on a lack of knowledge. But to link our fight to socialism is something else again. The people do not want socialism. We're on favorable grounds there. E.C.A.P. advertising in magazines and on the radio will stress the fight against the socialist state more in the future."

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The One-and-a-Half Party System in Greece

BOGDAN RADITSA

THE GOVERNMENT of Field Marshal Alexander Papagos has held power in Greece for more than a year now. This stability in Greek politics came as quite a surprise to me when I revisited the country last summer. Until November, 1952, weak coalition Governments came and went even more frequently in Greece than they do in France. But now 239 of Parliament's 300 seats are held by Papagos's Greek Rally, and the Opposition does not seem capable of offering much of a threat in the next election.

The Greeks have a passion for politics, and recalling the fiery debates I used to hear between monarchists and republicans, I expected to find most of my friends bewailing the restoration of the monarchy. But I found them almost entirely indifferent to the issue that used to divide the country. It took me almost no time at all, however, to realize that the Greeks have something new to worry about.

THIS DURABLE Papagos Government certainly corresponds very closely to what the U.S. State Department asked for. Nowhere have American representatives been as explicit about the rules by which they wanted elections to be run and what they wanted of the electorate as they have been in Greece.

Official American intervention in Greece began with the Truman Doctrine in 1947. Already exhausted after driving back an Italian invasion only to be flattened by the Germans, Greece was further racked by a bloody Communist rebellion. Greeks are still gratefully aware that without American military assistance their country would certainly have become another Soviet satellite.

The Truman Doctrine was followed by the Marshall Plan, and a nation whose per capita income is not much more than $150 a year began to show some evidence of economic vitality. Everywhere I went people praised the roads and hydroelectric plants that have been built. All in all, the United States has spent $2.4 billion in Greece in the last six years, $1.5 billion of it in economic aid.

From Right to Center

While so many dollars were being poured into Greece, American representatives in the field were bedeviled by the fickleness and complexity of Greek politics. After the Communist rebellion had been put down, the balance of political power shifted back from the Right to the Center. Constantine Tsaldaris's conservative

Populist Party dwindled rapidly, while sizable gains were made by the Liberal Party, led by Sophocles Venizelos, and the National Progressive Union, under the leadership of the late General Nicholas Plastiras. No single party was ever strong enough to rule by itself, and the minority and coalition Governments that succeeded one another were much too weak to cope with the problems that faced the nation. An indefinite continuation of American aid seemed the only hope for keeping Greece afloat. But this was a solution that the American representatives in Greece could not promise and that the Greek leaders could perhaps hope for but not rely on.

Man on the White Horse

Then in the summer of 1951, as if in answer to a worried American diplomat's prayer, Field Marshal Papagos left the army and offered himself to the electorate at the head of the newly formed Greek Rally. No man was more respected in Greece than the old commander, who had performed valorously against both fascist invasion and Communist rebellion. It was to be a sort of crusade, rising above the petty factionalism of the politicians, something very much like the movement of national unity against all parties that General de Gaulle had launched in France.

Entering its first election in September, 1951, the Rally did quite well, polling more than 600,000 votes out of a total of 1,707,081 and seating 114 representatives out of a total of 258. But Papagos was no more capable than the other party leaders had been of forming a Government by himself, and he was even less apt to form a coalition Government with someone else. The result was another coalition of Center parties with Plastiras as Premier.

Before long, a hitherto little known Member of Parliament, Spyros Markezinis, who was understood to have had quite a lot to do with getting Papagos into politics, made electoral reform an important part of the aging Field Marshal's program. All previous elections had been held according to that curse of European politics, the proportional-representation system, which protects minority parties. Markezinis impressed a number of very influential people, including some of the American representatives in Greece, with a graphic description of how

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much better off Greece would be if it could do away with all the splinter parties and adopt a good old-fashioned two-party system such as Americans enjoy.

The argument seems to have been an effective one. At any rate, in March, 1952, American Ambassador John E. Peurifoy issued an official warning to the effect that his government could not favor the existence in Greece of small parties resulting in a patched-up and ephemeral coalition Cabinet after each election. He clearly threw the full weight of U.S. aid on the side of the Rally's opposition to proportional representation. It wasn't long before Premier Plastiras saw where his duty lay, and a system of voting that favors large parties in national elections was duly adopted by Parliament. Plastiras later told me that he regretted what he had done and that he had acted at the insistence of the American Ambassador.

No one knows how much the prompting of Markezinis had to do with it, but in August, 1952, Ambassador Peurifoy was even more outspoken. He said flatly that a new Government would be a good thing for the country. Greeks weren't slow to get the point. Obviously he was backing Papagos.

Under the new sytem of voting, the Rally, with 49.36 per cent of the total vote, got all but 61 of the 300 seats in Parliament. A union of Venizelos Liberals and Plastiras Progressives polled 36.56 per cent of the vote and got those remaining sixty-one seats. The Communist-front Union of the Democratic Left (E.D.A.) drew a little more than ten per cent of the total vote but got no seats. The other minority parties went out of existence.

Both Ambassador Peurifoy and the Greek voters had good reasons for approving the slaughter of the minority parties. Greece badly needed political stability. Even the Rally's staunchest opponents told me that some kind of political realignment was necessary. As one man put it, "The proportional-representation system gives everyone a chance to be heard, but it makes running the country almost impossible."

Furthermore, the stated ideals of the Field Marshal's crusade made a good deal of sense to the people. "My principle," he said, "is that we cannot continue to depend indefinitely on American aid." He offered an economic program to "attract the investment of our own and foreign capital." A principal item in this program was to get the Greek merchant marine sailing once again under the Greek flag. Some of the biggest Greek shipowners had transferred the registry of their ships to countries like Panama, Costa Rica, Honduras, and Liberia. They thus avoid taxes, regulations as to how they should treat their employees, and unwelcome interference in the disposition of their profits. If all Greek-owned ships were to sail under the Greek flag, the Greek merchant fleet would be the third largest in the world, and that would go a long way toward straightening out the nation's financial difficulties.

But what neither Ambassador Peurifoy nor the Greek voters may have known was that the movement on which they had put such high hopes was not actually being led by the popular Marshal. The man who runs Greece, it has become increasingly evident since the election, is not Field Marshal Alexander Papagos but Spyros Markezinis.

The Machiavellian

Greece's self-effacing Minister of Coordination is a shrewd lawyer and a devoted student of Machiavelli. In Parliament he represents the small island of Thira in the Cyclades, as members of his family have done for generations. He is forty-four. At twenty-seven he was appointed legal adviser to the late King George II and returned the favor by leading a campaign to bring the royal family back to Greece after the war. During the war he worked closely with the British in the Resistance and in some way became quite wealthy. *Hrizi Anistasi*, "Golden Resistance," the Greeks sometimes call it, in reference to the number of men who emerged from it unaccountably rich.

It was during the Resistance that Markezinis first become closely associated with Papagos. Cursed with a

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shyness that borders on misanthropy and a face which many find ugly, Markezinis may have realized at this time that his only hope of gaining political power lay in attaching himself to a national hero like Papagos and using him as a front.

Markezinis is now the most unpopular man in Greece. "We voted for Papagos," I heard over and over again, "but what did we get?—Markezinis."

MARKEZINIS put through the devaluation of the drachma. Nearly everyone was aware of the necessity of devaluating the inflated currency from the rate of fifteen thousand to the American dollar. At the beginning of 1952 the drachma was selling on the black market for as low as nineteen thousand to the dollar, and its buying power may have been closer to twenty-three thousand to the dollar. But suddenly, amid assurances from the government that no devaluation was immediately forthcoming, Markezinis knocked the drachma all the way down to thirty thousand to the dollar. It may have served to make the drachma more attractive to the wily shipowners who had transferred all their holdings into more dependable currencies, but those Greeks who had no way out but to keep themselves and their money at home are still not convinced that such a drastic devaluation was called for.

The Markezinis program for Greece was designed to cure the inflation that had resulted from the American program of public investment, and thus create an atmosphere favorable to private capital investment. Something of the sort certainly needed to be done. The printing of unbacked currency had become a major industry in Greece, and, as always happens in a runaway inflation, people devoted their extra money to speculation rather than to saving or investment in production. A drastic cutback in both government spending and in the amount of currency circulation was regarded, by the Greek and American governments alike, as a necessity to give saving and investment a new start.

And yet it must be recognized that the Greeks of today are not capitalists but farmers and small tradesmen. They are not convinced that what's good for the accumulation of big capital is what benefits them most. And Markezinis doesn't seem to care what they think.

I found general agreement that cutting down government expenses was a good thing, but the way Markezinis had fired fifteen thousand government employees was considered reckless. The saving had to be measured against the results of throwing fifteen thousand people into the already large army of unemployed—some estimates run as high as twenty-five per cent of the working population. The absorption of the unemployed is particularly difficult since the military now gets fifty-one per cent of the national budget; the Plastiras Government had cut it from forty-eight to forty-three after the civil war. While this increase may impress the United States, most Greeks fail to understand why they, in the face of great poverty and with scarcely any resources, should spend more than half their national budget on the military.

Markezinis claims that his economic program has already been a success, that bank deposits have increased to four hundred billion drachmas. Others doubt the accuracy of the figure. They go on to point out that the drastic devaluation has not stopped inflation in Greece, that unemployment has increased considerably since the Rally came to power, and that the general strike which was threatened last summer is a symptom of deep underlying disorder.

Markezinis's unwillingness to render a personal report to Parliament after his trip to Washington last May was widely interpreted as a sign that the present trickle to which U.S. aid has been reduced is about all that Greece can expect. He seems to have had no better luck in London, Paris, or Bonn. There is even some question as to whether the shipowners have been much impressed with Markezinis; the new 23,000-ton passenger liner *Olympia* has been registered under the flag of Liberia.

No Middleman

Markezinis's political program for Greece has been no more popular than his economic program. Recalling their fascist prewar dictator, General John Metaxas, Greeks were alarmed last June when their Parliament was abruptly instructed to go home and leave everything to a small Recess Committee. Little comfort is to be drawn from a new law for the control of the press which provides a three-year sentence for publishing "insults to public authority." The Government has also streamlined all its intelligence services and secret police into one superagency, guarded by law against criticism or even undue curiosity.

It is now quite obvious that the crusade for a two-party system, in which Markezinis was able to enlist the American Ambassador, has re-

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sulted in doing away with the moderate conservatives and liberal parties—the parties of the Center and left of Center.

Actually, there is really only one effective party in Greece now. All the others are being driven farther and farther to the Left, and in Greece as everywhere, at the extreme Left is Soviet-dominated Communism, no matter how it may be disguised. The other parties are thus being driven farther away from the possibility of functioning as a responsible Opposition and winning an election in the near future. There is evidence that Markezinis does not dislike the trend to the Left. In one district a retired colonel, a member of the Papagos party, was caught distributing leaflets for the Communist-front E.D.A.

Before he died last July, Plastiras rejected a honeyed invitation to form a Popular Front with the fellow travelers. Yet under pressure from the Right on the center parties, the E.D.A. is gaining steadily. In a by-election last month, the Rally candidate won against a field of fourteen candidates, but the Communist-front candidate nearly doubled his 1952 vote, and his party emerged as the second largest in the district.

MOST GREEKS are conservatives, in the way that farmers and small businessmen are conservatives rather than in the way millionaire shipowners are conservatives. But the centrists—now led by Sophocles Venizelos, son of the revered republican Premier Eleutherios Venizelos, and by George Papandreou, who is probably the stronger of the two—have been badly damaged by the pressure from the Right, a pressure which seems to have been applied with the full approval of Greece's greatest benefactor, the United States.

"So Greece is getting its two-party system," a prominent Greek politician told me a few days before I sailed for Turkey. He smiled. "It's a very idealistic experiment—to give us Greeks the benefits of the American two-party system. The trouble is that we haven't got the American system. Perhaps if Mr. Peurifoy had been less idealistic he would have realized how different it is when the two parties, instead of being practically interchangeable, face each other in irreconcilable opposition."

Truce Talks Soon In Indo-China?

O. HENRY BRANDON

THERE WAS some mystery about the speech that Maurice Schuman, French Deputy Foreign Minister, delivered in the United Nations General Assembly last September, calling upon the Red Chinese Government to clarify the "ambiguous hints" it allegedly had dropped concerning its willingness to negotiate the end of the war in Indo-China.

Schuman's revelation that there had been such hints came as a surprise to most U.N. delegates. Some wondered whether he was not indulging in a bit of psychological peacemaking, or whether the wish was not father to the claim.

Early that same month, when I arrived in Saigon, the capital of Vietnam, the new French Commissioner General, Maurice Dejean, and his political advisers were carefully analyzing the "hints" that M. Schuman later referred to in his speech. What had caught their ear was a strange discrepancy between the propaganda lines taken respectively by Moscow, by Peking, and by the Vietminh leader Ho Chi Minh on whether

or not to go on with the war in Indo-China.

The broadcasts from Moscow and Peking, as monitored in the Vietnamese language, persistently hammered home the theme that all problems could be settled by peaceful negotiation—that, as one commentator from Peking put it, "The mission of great powers is to settle difficult problems peacefully." As if these admonitions had not enough authority behind them, a potpourri of sundry resolutions passed at different Communist peace conferences, all echoing the same melody, were read over the radio. Among Dejean's political advisers the belief that the implications of these broadcasts should be taken seriously was reinforced by the fact that they were conducted in the Vietnamese language and were therefore clearly intended to influence Vietnamese public opinion.

In contrast, no such soft music was coming over the air waves from Ho Chi Minh's headquarters to his own followers. One intercepted Vietminh broadcast went about as follows: "All echelons are asked to circulate among all our civilian and military forces the news of the great Com-

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munist victory in Korea, in order to stimulate enthusiasm for the continuance of the struggle and to create confidence in our own resistance.

"Nonetheless, certain precautions should be taken against possible misapprehensions: Don't be too pessimistic in assuming that with the fighting in Korea ended, American forces will intervene directly in the war in Indo-China. At the same time, do not underestimate indirect American assistance to the enemy. Do not succumb to a desire for peace at any price. This fight will be a long and painful one. It may be necessary for us to rely entirely on ourselves and our own resources to achieve victory. Make every effort to ensure that your propaganda among the partisans conforms to the above instructions."

THE CONCLUSIONS Dejean and General Henri Eugène Navarre, French commander in chief in Indo-China, drew from these and similar broadcast instructions were that Ho Chi Minh was worried about morale among his partisan troops, that he feared that growing American assistance to the French and Vietnamese forces had lowered the fighting spirit of his men, and that the armistice in Korea had increased their desire for an end to the war in Indo-China. But what surprised them most was that Ho should be trying to prepare his subcommanders for the eventuality of having to rely upon themselves. This the French experts interpreted as a warning to his lieutenants that the pipeline of supplies from China might dry up.

This was the interpretation that Commissioner Dejean sent to Paris. Dejean, who before his transfer had been Ambassador to Japan and to Czechoslovakia, is one of France's leading career diplomats, and the first man to be accredited to his post in Indo-China. His deputy is Raymond Offroy, also a career diplomat. Their advice, naturally, carries much more weight at the Quai d'Orsay than that of the colonial officials who preceded them.

Dejean and Offroy were uncertain how serious the differences were between Ho Chi Minh and Peking, but the Quai d'Orsay considered them worth exploring. Hence the repeated French attempts to offer negotiations to Peking but not to Ho Chi Minh. Some of the British and American diplomatic observers on the spot suspected that perhaps Peking was trying to soft-pedal the Indo-Chinese war, at least for the duration of the Korean political conference. They assumed that the Chinese Communists wanted the Korean conference to create a relaxation of tension in the Far East or, if it failed, at least to create the impression that its failure was due to American intransigence.

Change of Priorities?

I have discussed the situation, during recent months, with such leading figures in the Far East as Prime Ministers Nehru and Yoshida; Sir Malcolm MacDonald, the British Commissioner-General for South-East Asia; and M. Dejean. All of them leaned toward the view that since Stalin's death Mao Tse-tung's policy was changing, that Mao had come to feel that now he could assert his independence and authority without having to resort to aggressive expansionism. They added, with various degrees of emphasis and conviction, that this should not be taken to mean that China had given up such long-term aims as bringing Southeast Asia under Communist influence, but that it did mean there had been a change of priorities, and that China's industrialization now had first priority. I heard through the grapevine in Hong Kong that deliveries from Russia and its European satellites were expensive, poor in quality, and slow in arriving. Factory buildings erected in the first flush after the announcement of the Five-Year Plan are still without machinery, and the desire to obtain it from elsewhere than Russia is growing. Yoshida and Dejean told me they believed that the Chinese aim is to create a slackening of tension in the Far East that might induce a majority in the United Nations to support a lifting of the trade embargo against Communist China. That may be the reason why, if the French interpretation is correct, Peking may be prepared to put the brakes on Ho Chi Minh.

French officials in Paris now believe the uncertainties that have since arisen about the holding and the outcome of the Korean political conference have in turn blurred and delayed the prospects of negotiation over Indo-China. Vice-Premier Paul Reynaud, whose special concern is Indo-China, is one of the most ardent believers in negotiation. He is saying privately that if the Korean political conference does not come off, then the French government must try to explore the possibilities of a settlement of the Indo-Chinese war at a five-power conference which would include Communist China.

With the rainy season over, the fighting in the Red River Delta is getting fiercer every day, and the idea of a negotiated settlement seems nebulous. But the French point out that in Korea too the fighting remained furious until the truce was signed. Bidault expressed the hope to Secretary of State Dulles at the Foreign Ministers' conference that the truce in Korea would be contagious. The rising tempo of the

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fighting does not necessarily affect the evidence, the French contend. In some respects, it confirms it. M. Dejean says that no one in Saigon expected that Ho Chi Minh would heed the advice he was getting from Peking, assuming it was genuine, because his best chance of success is within the next four months. For that matter, no one thinks that negotiations with Ho Chi Minh are possible. But if there is disagreement about the conduct of the war between Peking and the rebel leader, it could only be uncovered at a conference table. Hence, the French offer negotiations while stepping up the pace and scale of the fighting.

Another 'Unpopular' War

Opinion varies as to how much of a whip hand Peking has over Ho Chi Minh as supplier of his war material. The logistics of the Communist troops are ridiculously simple. General Navarre estimates that the Reds' monthly needs do not exceed 4,500 tons, including all food and ammunition. Their "motor pool" numbers seven hundred vehicles. Coolies are their principal transportation, and coolies, like food, can be requisitioned locally. In the Laos drive last spring, for instance, thirty thousand coolies were used. During the monsoon season, deliveries of war material were increased to 2,500 tons a month—about four times as much as previously—but most of this was stored in depots, possibly to be saved for leaner days. The Vietnamese chief of staff thinks that the Communists can go on fighting for six months if Peking cuts off supplies. General Navarre believes that this is an underestimate.

The French keenness to negotiate may surprise many Americans. Only recently, when France was given another $385 million in U.S. aid, it was announced that "victorious conclusion" of the war was the goal. But just as the U.S. government considers it necessary to emphasize "victory" for American public consumption, so the French government, for its home consumption, must emphasize "negotiation," holding out the hope and prospect that there will be an end to the seemingly interminable struggle. The feeling has grown that France is no longer fighting this war in its own interest but as a kind of international holding operation to prevent Communism from engulfing all Southeast Asia. The French don't care much what happens in Indo-China. Just as the American public got fed up with the war in Korea, whose aims and purposes had become very confused, and just as in the last American elections the promise to end the war in Korea became one of the most popular issues, so in France the war in Indo-China has become a stick to beat any Government with.

Hammers and Flies

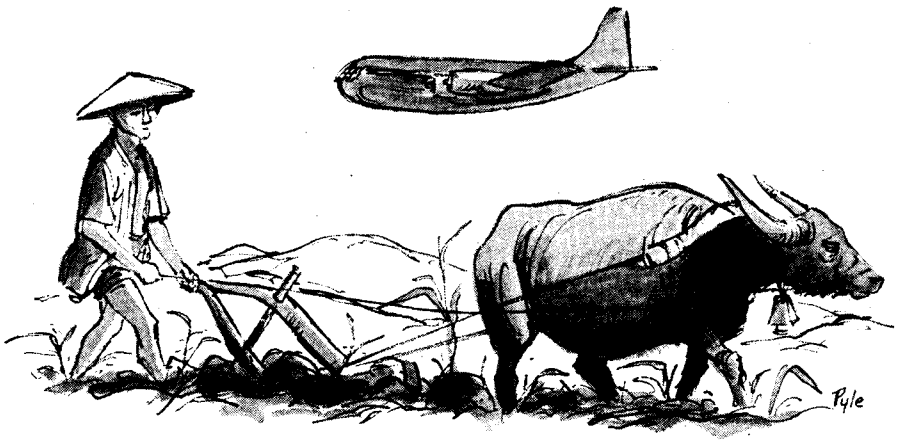
"Negotiation," therefore, has become a mystic word. The Mayer and Laniel Governments deserve credit for agreeing to give General Navarre more men, including specialist troops, and more matériel. Instead of the past colonial-war strategy, a modern strategy of swift movement, of harassing the enemy by landings from the air and the sea, has been adopted. Navarre has reorganized his divisions into highly mobile combat teams that can be shifted quickly from one area to another.

"Our superior equipment had been of little help to us," General Navarre said to me. "It only slowed us down. We were trying to hit a swarm of flies with a hammer."

Conquering enemy territory is relatively easy for the French, but in order to hold it they need more troops. Paris has lessened its insistence on avoiding casualties, and General Navarre has a free hand and therefore a much better chance to succeed than his predecessor. He is not the bulldog type represented by Marshal Juin, but has an acute sensitivity to the needs of this war among the jungles and rice paddies.

American equipment is coming in as fast as the troops can handle it. Manpower is still the greatest problem. The total forces on either side are about equal—around 300,000 each. But the French are obliged to use about 150,000 to protect their hinterland, which means that only half can be used in offensive operations. The Communists don't have to worry as much about their communication lines, and can therefore throw in larger forces to attack. Navarre has already begun to change the ratio of troops for his offensive plans, but he can do so only as fast as fresh Vietnamese troops come out of the training camps. Since the peasants will always give the Communist troops shelter against French troops, it is important that the Vietnamese troops should take over the rear areas as soon as possible. But it will be at least another year before there will be enough Vietnamese troops to free the French to concentrate on offensive operations. Consequently, for General Navarre, the premium is on delay.

Ho Chi Minh, for his part, probably realizes that the next few months will be decisive for his fortunes, and he is expected to stake everything on the coming winter campaign. General Navarre is satisfied that the morale of the French and Vietnamese troops has greatly improved, but he is also very conscious of the fact, as he put it to me, that with so much war weariness on both sides initial successes will be crucial.



FORTUNATELY, after determined American prodding, the French have changed not only their military

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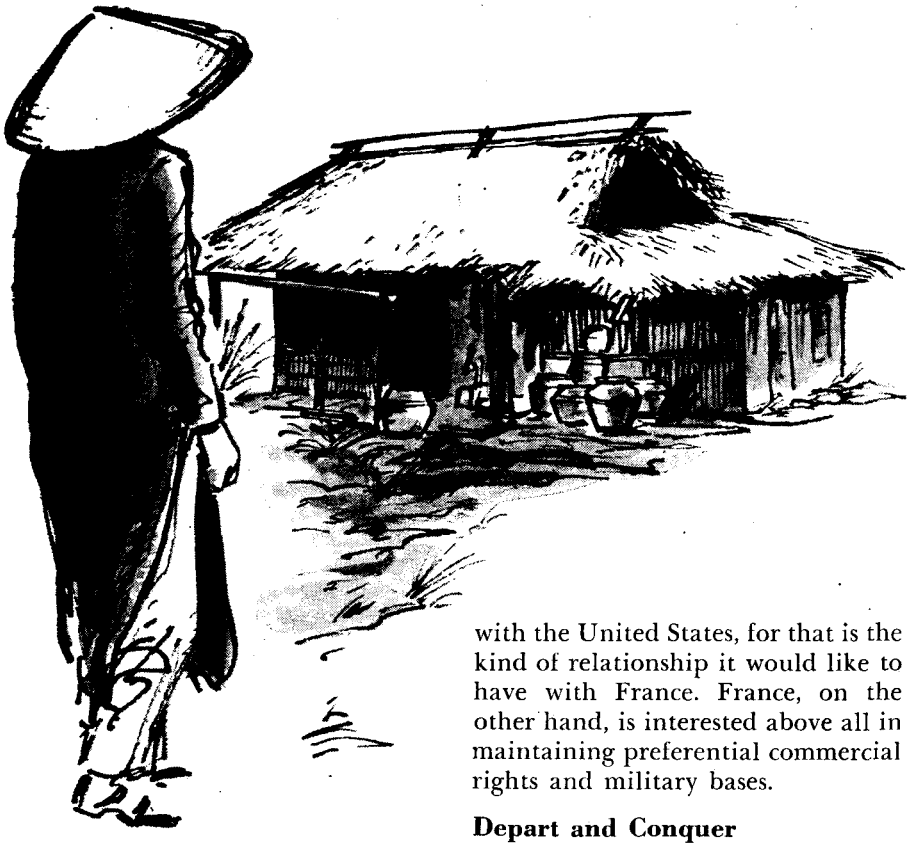

but also their political strategy. Repeated warnings from their own diplomats in Saigon that the tide of nationalistic pressures was becoming irresistible finally convinced the French government that it would be wise to offer Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos genuine rather than mere formal autonomy within the French Union. Events so much overtook the slow-moving processes of policy-making in Paris that, in the case of Cambodia, France had to sign what amounted to a blank check, and surrendered all civil and military powers with no assurances that this tidy, remote little kingdom would even stay within the French Union.

In Vietnam the situation is somewhat different. Here French bargainers have more leverage. The Emperor Bao Dai is aware that the French will not go on sacrificing the blood of their own soldiers for nothing more than someone else's profit. Therefore, a compromise must be found somewhere between the Paris demand for adherence to the French Union and Vietnam's offer of union with France. The Vietnam government is at present carefully studying the history of relations between the United States and the Philippines, the latter's grant of independence, and its treaty with the United States, for that is the kind of relationship it would like to have with France. France, on the other hand, is interested above all in maintaining preferential commercial rights and military bases.

Depart and Conquer

The best chance for France to preserve its influence in Indo-China would be to depart and return later as a friend. In India, even six years after Britain's exit, there is still a residue of anti-British emotionalism. Just as it was painful, for instance, for the British Labour Party to forget some of its most cherished slogans after it came to power in 1945, so it is still difficult for some Indian politicians to forget the anti-British slogans that were their staple diet for many years. But most Americans I met in India were surprised at how far Britain's stock had risen in such a short time.

It is, of course, impossible for the French to leave Indo-China now. The political impact of newly acquired independence, especially in Vietnam, where it is most important, will therefore remain muffled by the inevitable and continued presence of French troops while the war drags on. When strongly anti-Vietminh Catholic students from Hanoi University asked me, with an undertone of doubt, whether I really believed that the French were sincere in their offer of independence, I realized how much depended on whether the Vietnamese who had joined Ho Chi Minh's forces to fight for independence knew that they had already won that battle.

THE ATMOSPHERE of dejection among the French nationals who have spent a lifetime in Indo-China reminded me of the same sort of mood that prevailed among Britons in Egypt in 1945. One Frenchman, to convey his feelings—and significantly he took refuge with an English poet—quoted Shelley to me: *"Je suis celui qu'on n'aime pas mais qu'on regrette."*

Sir Malcolm MacDonald told me in Singapore that there had seemed little hope for Southeast Asia until in 1950 Dean Acheson had sent his emissaries out to ascertain what could be done to bolster resistance there against Communism. And the strong stand of the Eisenhower Administration on Indo-China has gone far to reassure the people of non-Communist Asia.

The military prospects for the French to strengthen their bargaining position against Ho Chi Minh have never been better. Unfortunately, however, as the chances improve on the battlefield, they seem to be steadily deteriorating in the arena of French domestic politics. The answer to the crucial question of whether the United States can prevent the fall of Indo-China by all aid short of direct intervention may never have to be given. But the Republicans must be aware that having pilloried the Democrats for the loss of China, they can hardly afford to let themselves be accused of losing Southeast Asia.

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Any Resemblance . . .

Public Servant

MARYA MANNES

IF THINGS hadn't broken the way they did in November, 1952, Cyrus H. Featherbridge might still be a GS 11 at $5,940 a year in one of the sections of the Department of State instead of the Acting Chief of his section at $8,360. This sudden rise to power surprised him almost as much as it surprised everybody else, for several reasons.

Chief among them was the dismissal or resignation of three of his superiors who had been found guilty of offenses ranging from the abandonment of China to expressions of distaste for the word "team." One had even been judged a security risk, although neither he nor any of his colleagues knew why. In any case, Cyrus moved up if for no other reason than that his file had absolutely nothing in it. Nothing, that is, except the facts of his education, his progression up the Civil Service scale, and his marriage. Cyrus had never signed a report, written an opinion, evolved a plan, or instigated an action. It was a perfect file.

Consistent with this perfection was the fact that few people ever remembered meeting Cyrus. Although he had the normal complement of features and wore glasses, he was faceless. His clothes were equally indeterminate. The only thing you might remember was his voice: dry, precise, issuing from behind the thin bridge of his nose. He cleared his throat quite often and had a habit (maddening to his secretary) of tapping the desk with his pencil. In the cafeteria another foible was apparent: He pushed the various ingredients of his dish around the plate, patting them into molds before eating them.

Cyrus was a hard and conscientious worker, and his former superiors had counted on him for meticulous attention to detail; but they were frequently exasperated by his refusal to commit himself on any question, however minor. His stock answers to the question "What do you think about this?" were: "I think it needs more study," or "We're not quite sure of the sources, are we?" or "NEA and FE better have a look at it." They rarely invited him to their houses because he appeared to have no interests beyond the office and no sense of humor.

Yet now that everything was changed, it was men like Cyrus who were referred to by those who attacked the treasonable and disloyal as "one of the many faithful, loyal government servants," and "the backbone of our service."

IT WAS fortunate for the Featherbridges that they had never lived in Georgetown, now discredited as the effete and messy refuge of the Acheson gang, foreign diplomats, and homosexuals. Instead, they owned a small brick house in the leafy suburb of Bethesda, where their children could play with nice neighbors instead of with the dirty colored children of Georgetown and where Cyrus, in a room off the garage, could indulge his hobby of carving ship models. Everything about the house spoke of the good, solid American Way.

The Featherbridges had, it is true, once owned a color reproduction of one of Picasso's blue period (a boy and a horse), but had given it away to a niece who was getting married. Quite aside from Picasso's bad name, they had never really liked the painting; it was a wedding present from a painter-cousin who, they were thankful, lived abroad. She had made them rather nervous during all the investigations because she had voted three times for Norman Thomas, and Ethel Featherbridge was sure that if it had ever come out it would have done Cyrus no good.

IN HIS NEW position of responsibility Cyrus was changing subtly. He had become fussier and more dictatorial (always on small points of office procedure), cleared his throat oftener, and kept more documents on his desk, for the simple reason that he had no one to pass them on to. This was a worry to him, for it meant that ultimately some action had to be taken where formerly he could just initial and pass on. Cyrus solved this problem by holding regular meetings (at eight-thirty Wednesday mornings, to the anguish of his staff) in which he could sample the opinions of his subordinates and then adopt the majority view. He made a point of keeping a stenographic record of all the comments made, in case at some future time he should be held personally responsible for some decision.

It might be said that Ethel Featherbridge was on the whole happier about his advancement than he was,

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for she did not suffer the one nagging pang of conscience that Cyrus did. His failure to testify to the good character of his closest colleague, Harbison, had tipped the scales—in those days of accusations, trials, and dismissals—in a case notable for its ambiguity and arbitrariness. What Cyrus had actually done was to answer the question of the investigators as to whether he knew of any disloyal opinions held, or remarks made, by Harbison, by saying that his colleague had once praised the public housing program. It was the only time he had ever committed himself in his life, and it would forever disturb his peace.

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All That Glitters Is Not Gold

BILL MAULDIN

NOT LONG AGO, General Matthew Ridgway, our new Army Chief of Staff, objected publicly to the use of the term "brass," on the ground that it lessens respect for the brass. Several news agencies, in reporting this, gave some background on the word, the consensus being that it derived from the First World War, when British staff officers in the top rank of the rear echelon wore brass bands around their caps. The actual term was "brass hat," and it was used as gleefully by junior officers at the front as by the enlisted "other ranks" in all echelons to express their feelings about officers of the swivel-chair cavalry.

The U.S. Army picked up "brass" and has used the word ever since, but the American definition is as improved and refined as all the other things we've ever swiped from the British.

Cruelly, cold-bloodedly, the Englishman relegates all officers back of a battalion command post to the category of "brass hat." When Ridgway was touring South Korea with a grenade dangling from his galluses and occasionally spooning a cold C-ration with the boys, he was not, by British definition, brass. When he moved to Tokyo to take tea with the Crown Prince and implement State Department policy in a manner to which his predecessor had not been accustomed, he became, by British standards, a brass hat.

WE OVER HERE are much more reasonable. Personally, I never thought of General Ridgway—who took the salutes in front of the Dai Ichi Building and later, in Paris, managed the military hopes of the free world with the same aplomb he had shown when hollering "Geronimo!" over Sicily and jumping into combat with the 82nd Airborne Division—as being even possibly a brass hat until he himself made the word "brass" an issue.

The U.S. Army, in its emancipated if not infinite wisdom, allows brass to prove itself brass before it calls it brass. There are just as many brass hats (by our meaning) among the ranks of the newly graduated lieutenants commanding platoons as there are among the colonels in the Pentagon. Brass (U.S.A.) is not a rank, or a relative position to the firing line or an individual; it's a state of mind. It's an inferiority complex; it's the medal wearing the man instead of vice versa. Brass is an alloy which knows it is not gold, and mistakenly tries to hide this fact by polishing itself to a high shine which removes it even farther from the true, mellow, dull, twenty-four-carat glow.

MACARTHUR was brass, possibly the best example, we, or our children's children, are likely ever to see. His brass will gleam throughout military history, shined by the polishing cloths of countless memories. (Yet, by British standards he was pukka sahib; he exposed himself to fire many times.) Patton was brass. Omar Bradley was not. General Eisenhower was a desk man and seldom heard a gun fired in anger, yet the only time I ever thought of him as even slightly brass was during the latter stages of his political campaign last fall. You don't necessarily have to be a member of the armed forces to be brass.

Dignity is not brass. General George C. Marshall is one of the most dignified men alive and proves the point. In Korea, I met a non-brass two-star division commander whose aide, a captain, glittered like a spittoon.

By and large, a man of rank who jokingly refers to himself as brass is no brass. He may be just defensive about it, but there's hope for him. When a man starts fretting about the term and requests that its use be curtailed, look out.

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What Makes The Good People Good?

J. K. GALBRAITH

OUT OF THESE ROOTS: The Autobiography of an American Woman. By Agnes E. Meyer. *Atlantic-Little, Brown. $4.*

AS A YOUNGSTER I learned that all people were divided into two groups—those who were public-spirited citizens and those who weren't. A public-spirited citizen was one whose political views conformed closely to those of my father. This was in Canada and meant, roughly, devout support of Sir Wilfred Laurier and, at a later date, of William Lyon Mackenzie King. A second requirement was a willingness to do useful work without pay.

Although this subject of good citizenship is adverted to in addresses from time to time—the topic lacks the aspect of novelty, especially around educational institutions—these simple standards of proper politics and a penchant for unpaid effort had seemed satisfactory to me until very recent times. They still serve to distinguish between Mrs. Roosevelt and, say, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. I had always thought my own aversion to unpaid labor was compensated for by my devotion to liberal principles.

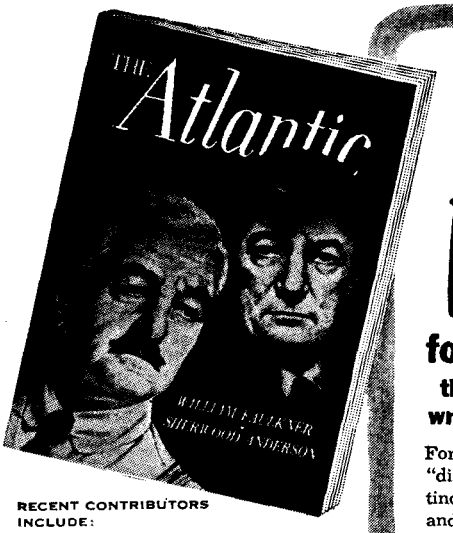
THE OCCASION for rethinking these basic concepts was an encounter with the recently published autobiography of Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer. It is not that she can be seriously faulted on the two grounds just mentioned. Few people in our time have shown more willingness to do useful things for the sake of doing them, and the fact that, in her case, this has been greatly facilitated by marriage to a more than moderately solvent husband is something she freely admits.

There was a time when Mrs. Meyer—this takes some reading between the lines—must have been a formidable, if quite admirable, female Republican. Even those who had no ideological differences with her might have been a little scared. But now even a timid Democrat would not be at all frightened by her.

What the book makes clear is how much more than political attitude and willing effort go to comprise the good citizen. It would be convenient to find one characteristic that stands out; the moral of Mrs. Meyer's story lies, however, in the extraordinary combination of personal resources on which she has called. Thus it goes without saying that as the arch-exponent of the sound community, friend of the public schools, advocate of better health and hospital services, bedeviler of witch hunters, and diligent reporter of social problems, she has had an uncommon endowment of energy.

Also, and no less important because one blushes at the triteness, she illustrates the importance of some physical and a great deal of moral courage. This latter quality is needed not only for opposition to the kind of people that most self-respecting souls are obliged to deplore but also for doing battle with those with whom it is a lot more convenient to agree. In Mrs. Meyer's case it has enabled her to take on sanctimonious town fathers, reputable but reluctant churchmen, upright but conservative politicians, quite a few physicians in addition to Dr. Morris Fishbein, and numerous other pillars of our society. It is evident that all of them were more shaken by the experience than she was.

This courage, it seems certain, rests on two other qualities which, if Mrs. Meyer is a fair example, the good citizen should also have. The first of these is a considerable inner security. This, in less fashionable terms, means being extremely dogmatic. While Mrs. Meyer tries to picture some of her early ideas and attitudes as almost uniquely repul-



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sive, she is not particularly convincing. In the end she gives herself a fairly solid endorsement.

Of her contemporary views she is in no doubt whatever. Some of these are open to question and one or two are outrageous. She believes, for example, that the migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland should be stopped because it aggravates the problems of the New York slums. It seems not to have occurred to her that the same migration has relieved the pressure on, and facilitated the clearance of, even more noisome slums in San Juan and that the people of Puerto Rico are, both legally and morally, as much citizens of the United States as the taxpayers of Mount Kisco.

But certainty is a virtue when it is combined with intelligence and disciplined by education. This is manifestly the case with Mrs. Meyer, and for that happy reason her dogmatism, with the rarest lapses, is that of John the Baptist rather than of John W. Bricker. As both her life and her book make clear, she has a rapid and incisive mind and a notable conviction that it was meant to be used and improved. She opens her chapter on her activities in behalf of public health by observing: "I saved myself much wasted effort by seeking the best expert advice available. . . ." One suspects, in fact, that an observation of what education was doing for Agnes did much to stimulate her rewarding efforts on behalf of the education of other Americans.

THERE MAY BE some other qualities that the good citizen should have. Compassion and an amiable appreciation of applause are doubtless among them, and they are not lacking in Mrs. Meyer's make-up. But it may be that in specifying brains and a capacity for education, one has hit upon the first essential.

Nowadays the good citizen has to operate in and on an inordinately complex environment. Political attitudes and willing effort, I am more convinced the more I reflect on these canons of an ancient faith, are not enough. If one's obituary is to rate more than a paragraph opposite the editorials in the *Times,* one must now have a very large amount of organized information.

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'Loved I Not Honour More'

GOUVERNEUR PAULDING

THE COLORS OF THE DAY, by Romain Gary. Translated from the French by Stephen Becker. *Simon & Schuster. $3.50.*

ROMAIN GARY continues the French tradition by which career diplomats—he is First Secretary of the French Delegation to the United Nations—are often novelists or playwrights or poets. He has been a soldier too. When France fell he flew himself and his plane to Britain, joined the RAF, and fought until France was free once more. In 1951 he published in this country a novel, *The Company of Men;* he now has given us *The Colors of the Day,* a story which dramatically presents an astonishing and rewarding statement of the best his country stands for.

In this book he succeeds in doing extraordinary things with two very different kinds of words. Sometimes he takes short blunt words, dirty words, and uses them to write an entirely convincing hymn to purity. There is a moment when a debauched and drunken man is trying desperately to find the magic formula for evil, "trying vainly to put lizards and rats' whiskers and snake skins and ink and mouse-tails and rabbits' feet into a bottle, and then saliva on top of all of it. . . ." But it was no use at all; the formula did not work, and "evil was a kitchen match trying to resist the hellfire of purity."

Sometimes this book shows how men use dirty words to mask the immense distress they feel when their dreams are betrayed. But there are other plain words that are far more difficult to use than dirty words: the word "honor," for instance, the words "peace," "justice," "liberty,"

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THE AIR EDITION of the Manchester Guardian Weekly is published in England on Thursday and arrives in New York on Saturday; thus its views and comments deal with the week just gone. It generally runs to sixteen tabloid size pages and is in my opinion the most literate and entertaining newspaper in the English language. Apart from enjoying its reviews of books, plays, and movies, I find myself waiting around for its editorial comment on various phases of American life and American policy. This is like standing off and taking a long dispassionate look at yourself through the eyes of an extremely polite and informed cousin, who is given neither to scolding nor flattery. Sometimes reassuring, sometimes deflating, it's a salutary experience, clearly worth $6.50 per annum.

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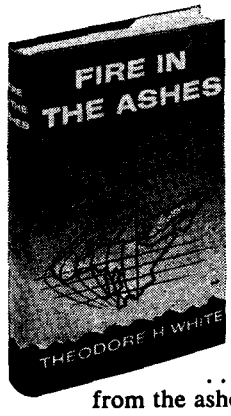

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the word of words, "love." They are simple words—and it is terribly difficult to take them out of an ageless rhetoric and make them fresh again and alive. A writer is very brave who tries to do this. It is easier to skirt round them and use all kinds of indirection or understatement. In this book the difficulty is faced directly and overcome.

RAINIER is in a bar in Nice with La Marne. Rainier is a Frenchman who fought in Spain, flew with the RAF against Hitler, and is about to leave for Korea as a volunteer in the French battalion. La Marne is a "new" Frenchman, a Jewish refugee, who takes his adopted country so much to heart that he felt it unpardonably arrogant of him to join the Resistance movement and thus appear—if only to himself—braver than so many of his French-born compatriots. It was not sensible or proper for him to maintain his hope in France, or in humanity or fraternity—words he refused ever to pronounce—when it seemed that France itself had abandoned hope. La Marne now is going with Rainier to Korea but only out of friendship, he stoutly maintains, because who can ever trust in anything any more, who can reasonably expect anything but further betrayals? Pedro the barman, who is himself an embittered exile from Spain, speaks:

"Why are you going?"

"It's not me, really," La Marne says apologetically. "It's him. I'm not going because of conviction. I'm going because of friendship. I don't believe in ideas, myself. I've a friend, that's all I've got."

"Why are you doing this, Rainier?"

"Why am I doing what?"

"Korea."

"France," Rainier says.

"Now, now," La Marne pleads. "Watch your language. You can't use words like that. There's a limit to filth. You're making me blush. . . . There's a lady here. Excuse him, mademoiselle."

"I'm not listening," the whore says tactfully.

"France," Pedro says. "You don't know what it is any more."

"It's the blood you give for something other than France."

From the opening of the book, you

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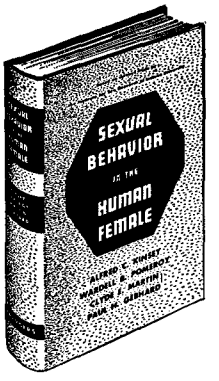
see what you are going to get. You are going to have a Frenchman talking about France. There will be no stopping him. He is going to talk not only about the French soil, the French rivers, but about the crowded names of the French dead in one war after another that are on the monuments to the dead in French villages —with room left for additions. It is going to be embarrassing talk. For we are all of us like La Marne. We are all of us, except the very young, people who have had a great many illusions destroyed.

It would be bad enough to have a character talk of giving his blood for France, but that would still be no more than elementary patriotism, and we have not reached the point where simple patriotism has grown stale. It is that phrase about "something other than France" which is really embarrassing. It is Rainier's stubborn and lyrical recognition of humanity and fraternity that is hard to take. He does not stop at the frontiers of the free nations. There cannot be any fraternity unless everybody is included.

NO EXHIBITIONISM, Rainier says. But in a book about a man's heart the depth of love cannot be obscured by politics or war. It is love that governs and it must be exhibited. And so this book is to become even more embarrassing.

When a man is drafted he is torn from his love. When a man volunteers it is his love that sends him away. Here Rainier is speaking to Ann: "How can I not dream of extending the happiness of this village to the whole earth and my consolation for leaving our joy behind, wouldn't it be in building a world where it would occupy the first place? How can I help yielding to a sign so clearly inscribed around me—the right of man to grow freely, like French villages which appear little by little exactly where the eye demands them? My darling, I know so well what I want to give you that I must defend my love against a way of life where man could exist only as a corruption of the system. . . . So I shall leave you, my love, because it is a lover's duty to defend his reason for living."

Ann is a moving-picture actress and the wife of Willie Bauché, who is a moving-picture actor who finally falls off a cliff, and there is his story —a love story too—in this book. There is the carnival at Nice, the roads along the Corniche, the sea, the olive trees. You can read this novel for its story, an exciting one in which everything is in its right place with suspense and realism. You can read it for its sarcasm and humor—with all its bitterness it is an extraordinarily funny book. But it would be best of all to read it for what it is in its total sincerity: brilliant and passionate prose honoring a word it gives us renewed courage to pronounce—the word "love." Of course, La Marne would call this conclusion obscene.



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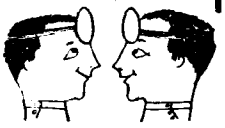

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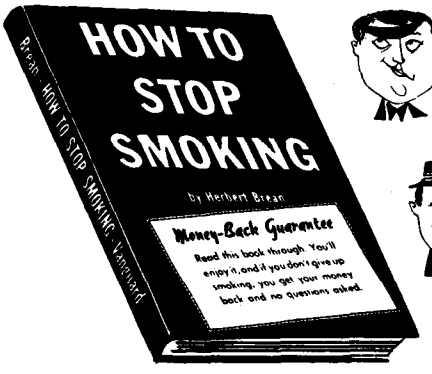
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The answer to all these questions is simple: these people all read How To Stop Smoking, the book that is less irritating, contains no harmful ingredients and is much milder on your throat because it enables *you* to stop smoking for good.

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How To Stop Smoking by Herbert Brean was published in January, 1951. It immediately attracted considerable comment because of the unusual terms on which it is sold. Right on the jacket, in big type, it guarantees your money back if after reading the book you don't stop smoking.

The guarantee says: "Read this book through. You'll enjoy it, and if you don't give up smoking, you get your money back and no questions asked."

In the month of publication more than 5,000 people, a lot of them skeptics in an "aw-what-can-I-lose" frame of mind, bought the book. Three people asked for their money back — and got it promptly. Perhaps lots of the buyers didn't give up smoking and didn't ask for their money, but judging from the amount of fan mail that promptly snowed under the author, *thousands of them gave up smoking!*

People all over the country began to do something that they had wistfully, perhaps hopelessly, wanted to do for years — they rid themselves of the slavery of smoking. Letters and orders have snowballed over the years.

How To Stop Smoking enables you to stop — simply and easily. As the author says, "It is written by a guy who has been all the way through the nicotine habit and is thoroughly familiar with the well-known pleasures of smoking and the little-known, but very real, pleasures of non-smoking. Not a crank, not a solemn moralizer, not a guy to flash livid pictures of a smoker's lungs or stomach on a screen and scare the dickens out of you. Rather a guy who has smoked cigarettes, cigars and pipes by turn, and now has a nice collection of $15 briars gathering dust."

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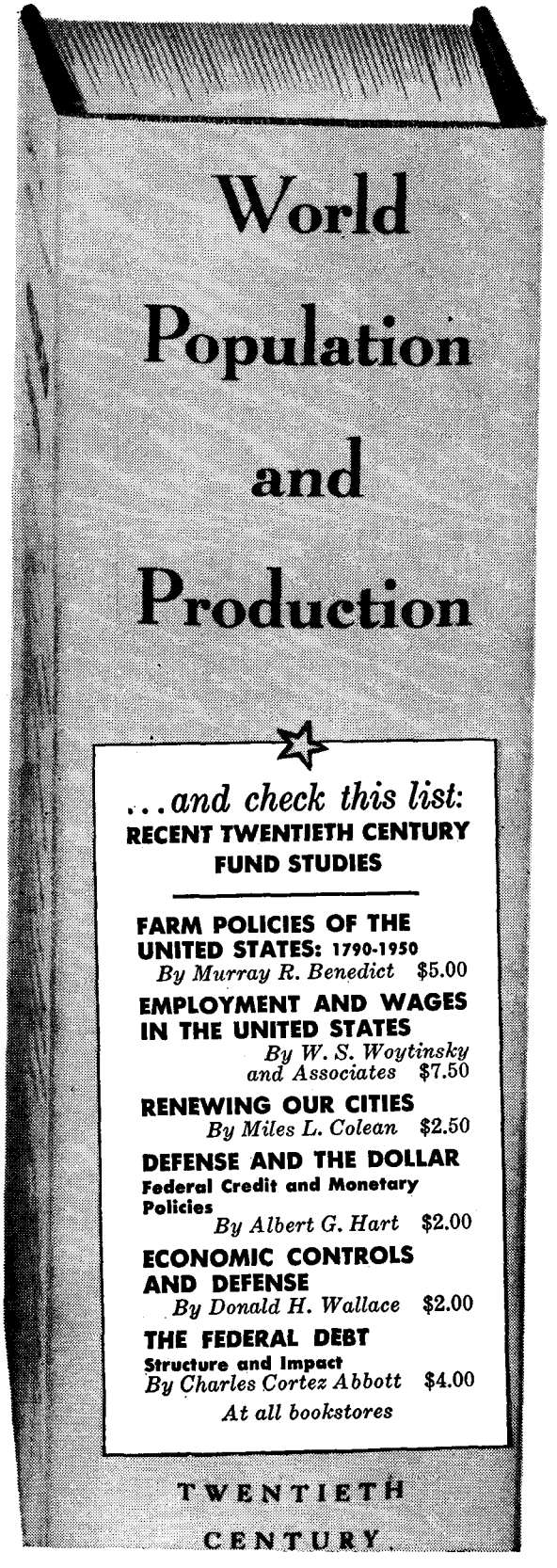

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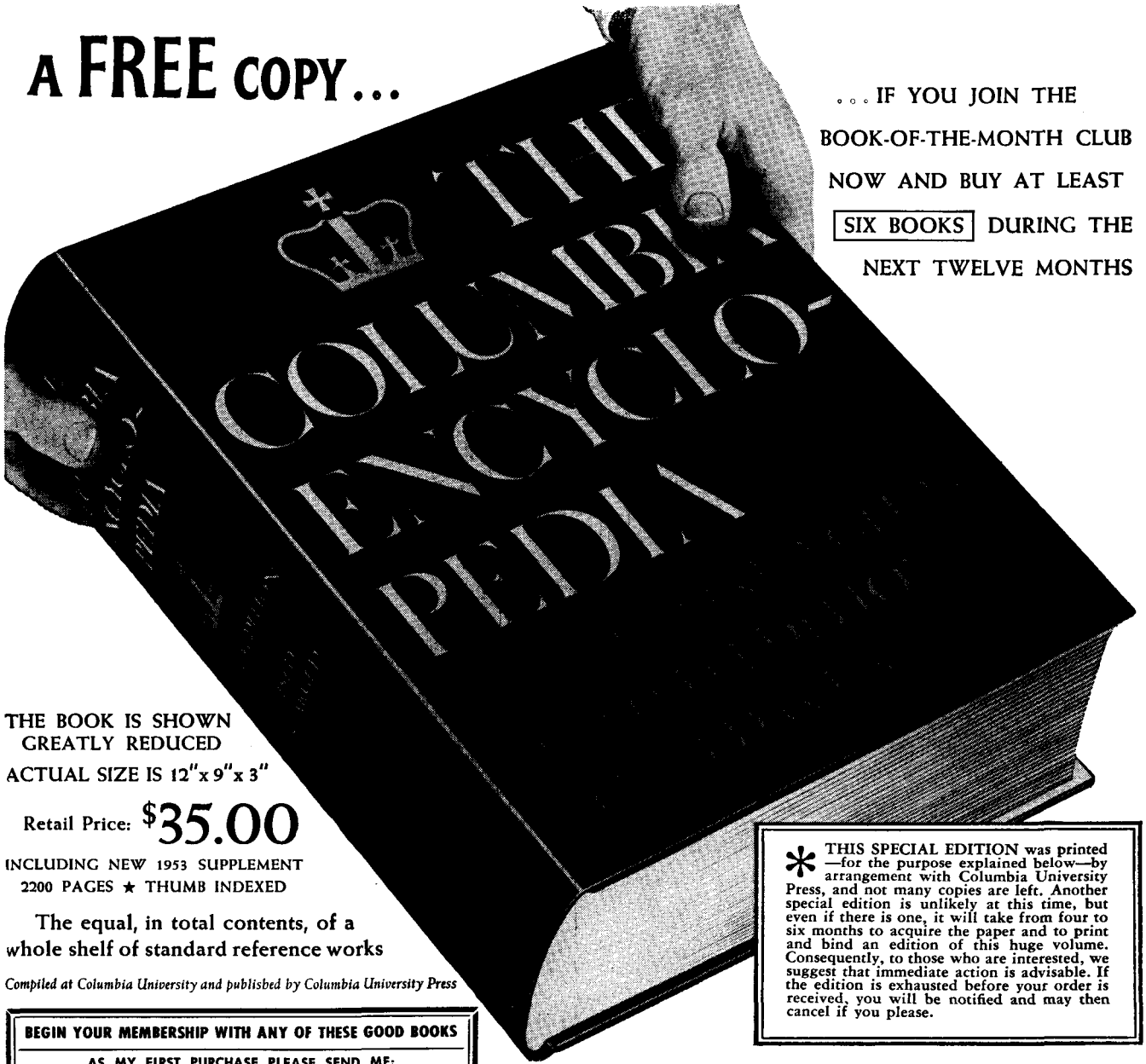

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